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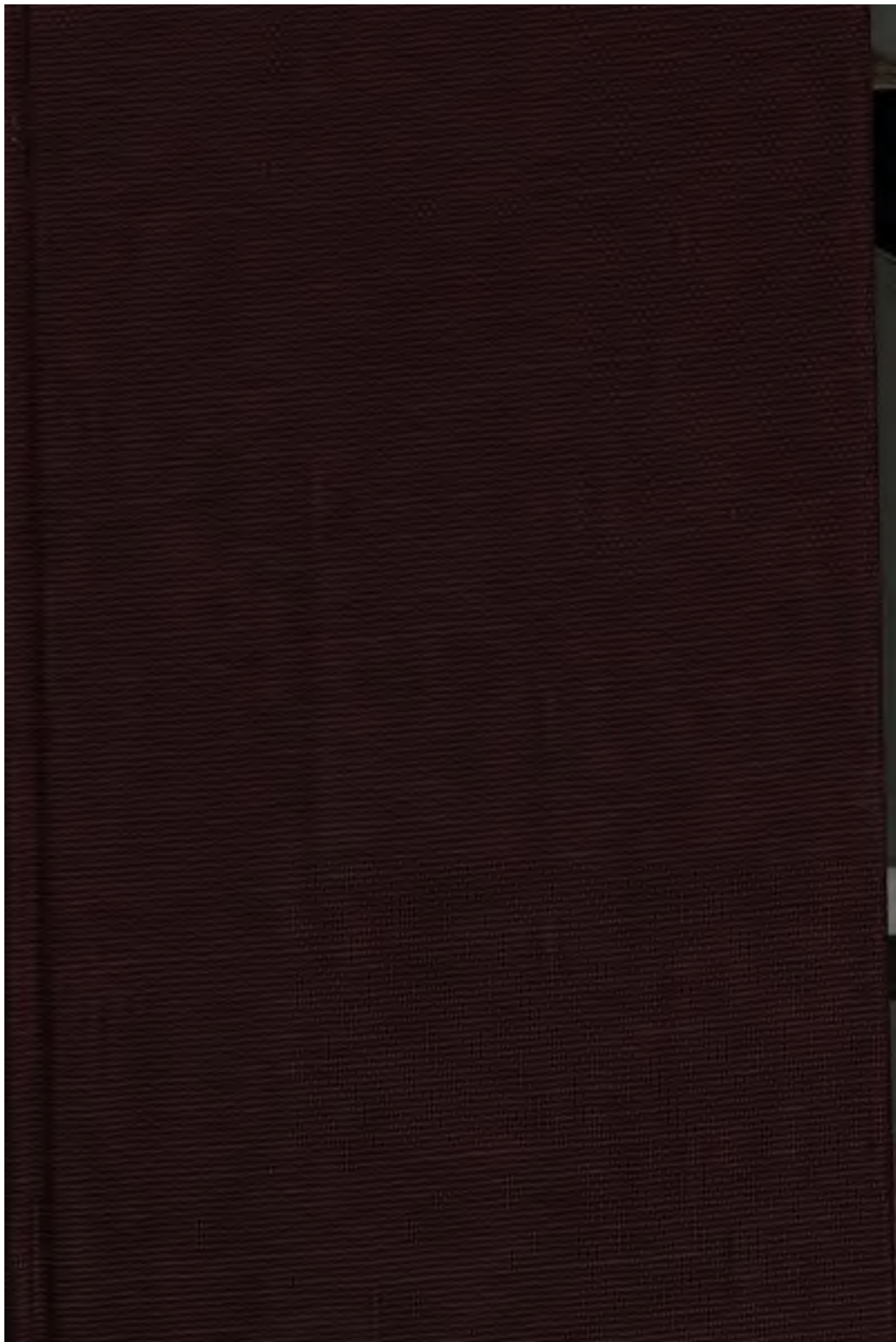
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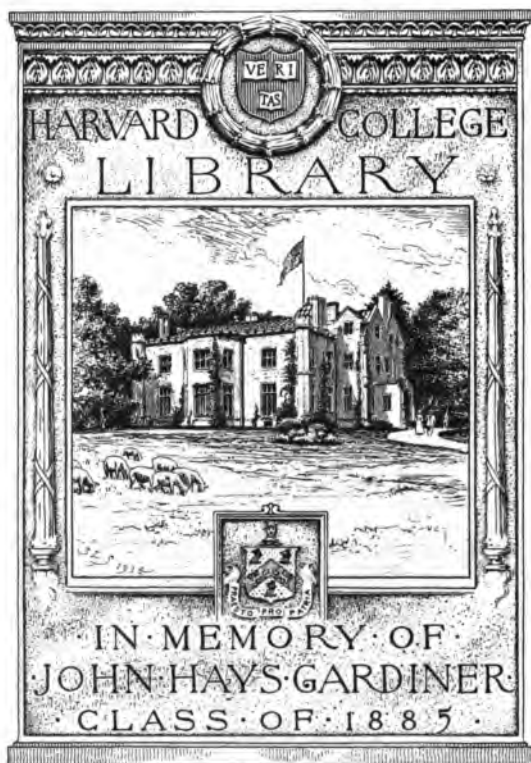
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Imperfect:- front wanting

THE
SECOND BURMESE WAR.

A NARRATIVE OF THE
OPERATIONS AT RANGOON,
IN 1852.

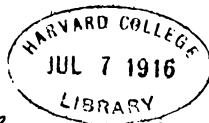
By WILLIAM F. B. LAURIE,
LIEUT., MADRAS ARTILLERY,
AUTHOR OF "ORISSA AND THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH," ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS,
BY OFFICERS OF THE FORCE SERVING IN BURMAH.

LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

THE Author presents this work to the public with less diffidence than he laboured under on his first appearance in public. After the publication of "Orissa," he was cheered and encouraged by the Press and many valuable friends, to persevere in his literary pursuits. Another opportunity having presented itself, in a remote land, he has lost no time in taking advantage of it; and he now ventures to lay the result of his labours before the reading world.

One of the principal objects of the following pages is to give the reader as much information regarding Burmah, and take from him as little time, as possible. Wherever it is a soldier's lot to roam, the pleasant duty may be frequently performed of attempting to gather and afterwards to diffuse knowledge. It is a duty which our age demands of every man who thinks he has a sufficiency of capacity.

Apart from the extreme probability of the cause

of civilization being advanced, in a distant and comparatively unknown land, by the Second Burmese War, which should make the subject one of general interest, there must be a vast number of readers at home and in India who have friends and relatives in Burmah. This is the grand key to the interest of Englishmen in the war. The possession of Rangoon may be said to have put nine-tenths of the Burmese empire at our disposal. The conquest of the remainder of the country may ensue, and other pens will probably describe the course of events.

But, on account of the liberal encouragement bestowed on the present undertaking by the Officers of the Force at Rangoon, and others, the Author may be disposed, if all goes well, to write another volume.

Many thanks are due to the military artists, Lieut. Blair, of the Madras Artillery, and Lieut. Ford, of the Madras Sappers, for the excellent and truthful illustrations they have furnished for this work.

In the Appendix will be found some useful and interesting information, including extracts from accounts of the first Burmese war.

W. F. B. L.

Rangoon, August 10, 1852.

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THE
SECOND BURMESE WAR.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

As early as the middle of the sixteenth century, the Burmese had conquered the inhabitants of Pegu, their former masters, and had established a strong independence. This brave and warlike nation speedily assumed a high rank in the East. The Burmese accession of power and territory naturally produced a desire for increased traffic; and, as regards the British, about the middle of the seventeenth century, not many years after the surgeon, Boughton, had done his country service by obtaining for the English nation permission to traffic, free of duty, in Bengal, our trade with Burmah flourished to a considerable extent. Grain, oil, timber,

ivory, and other valuable commodities, were not to be neglected in the early fervour of commercial speculation.

The fertile delta of that magnificent river, the Irrawaddy, was visited by our countrymen under great disadvantages. The European *barbarians*—for the offensive term was used in the same sense by Burmese and Chinese—dared not sail up the Rangoon, or any other of Burmah's noble waters, without acknowledging the supreme authority of the lord of the white and all other elephants, whose trunks "put a girdle round about the earth," while under the shade of their master's golden umbrella, the spheres steadily and gracefully reposed. But our merchants too frequently made respect for local authorities a secondary consideration—which, perhaps, first inclined the higher order of Burmese to look upon us in no very favourable light. Far different was the conduct of the early servants of the East India Company. These functionaries, we are told, knew well how to humour the Burmese national vanity; and even governors of Fort St. George addressed the "Golden Feet" in terms of great humility. An old letter has recently been disinterred, filled with what the writers in the *Spectator*, had the gorgeous epistle come in their way, might have denounced as a brilliant example of an effort to be ridiculous for a political purpose. It is impossible to mistake the "studied ornaments

of style" * in a letter from Nathaniel Higginson, Esq., &c., Governor of Fort St. George, to the King of Ava, dated the 10th Sept. 1695.

"To his imperial Majesty, who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his Presence, Emperour of Emperours, and excelling the Kings of the East and of the West in glory and honour, the clear firmament of Virtue, the fountain of Justice, the perfection of Wisdom, the Lord of Charity, and Protector of the Distressed; the first mover in the Sphere of Greatness, President in Council, Victorious in War; who feareth none, and is feared by all: Center of the Treasures of the Earth, and of the Sea, Lord Proprietor of Gold and Silver, Rubys, Amber, and all precious Jewells favoured by Heaven, and honoured by Men, whose brightness shines through the World, as the light of the Sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory.
 . . . Your Majesty has been pleased to grant your especial favours to the Honourable English Company, whose servant I am; and now send to present before the footstool of your Throne a few toys, as an acknowledgment of your Majesty's goodness, which I beg your Majesty to accept; and to vouchsafe an Audience to my Servants, and a gracious Answer to my Petition." Let us now hear the object of the petition, one of curious interest at the present time:—"I humbly pray your Majesty's foun-

* *Spectator*, Essay on "Metaphors."

tain of goodness to continue your wonted favours to the Right Honourable English Company, and to permit our Factors to buy and sell, in such Commodities, and under such Priviledges, as your Royal bounty shall please to grant; and allow us such conveniencys, as are necessary for the repair of Shippes, whereby I shall be encouraged to send my Shippes yearly to your Majesty's Port, having Orders from the Honourable Company, to send Shippes and Factors into all Parts of India, when their Service requires it." *

And now, before inviting the reader's attention to a slight historical retrospect, let us ask him to turn to the map of Asia, and mark how the country of Arracan and the province of Chittagong are situated relatively to Calcutta, and the countries of Ava and Pegu.

Every one knows that the Portuguese were the first regular European traders in India, round the Cape of Good Hope.

Many of these adventurers, about the year 1600,

* "We shall look with additional interest for the Burmese Blue Book, that we may have an opportunity of comparing the humble, cringing, obsequious memorial presented by the Agent of the Governor, on his knees, to the Lord of the White Elephant, with the cold and imperious missive of the present Governor - General. These two letters would of themselves form no incorrect index of the difference between the Company Bahadoor, as a pedlar, and as an emperor."—*Friend of India*, Feb. 26, 1852.

had settled on the coast of Chittagong and Arracan. Ten years after their arrival, the Portuguese and Arracanese, acting in concert against the Subahdar of Bengal, agreed to invade his Subah by land and by water. The limited forces went boldly to the attack; but the invaders were entirely defeated. The perfidious commander persuaded the Governor of the Portuguese settlements in India, who resided at Goa, to equip a large fleet, and upon its arrival on the coast, Gonzales joined the admiral in attacking the city of Arracan. They were repulsed with great loss, reckoning their naval leader among the killed, while the captain escaped to the island of Sundeeep, defeated, disgraced, and ruined. It is remarked by a competent authority, that the attempt of the Arracanese to revenge themselves against the inhabitants of Sundeeep and all the neighbouring coasts, with succeeding inroads of a similar nature, created the Soonderbuns,* which region once flourished as the abode of wealthy and industrious men.

We next hear that the Assamese, occupying a fertile country to the north of Ava, were repulsed, and the Arracanese driven off by the occupants of Sundeeep, to secure the peace and prosperity of Bengal. It is curious to compare the progress of an expedition set on foot by Meer Joomla, the Su-

* History of Bengal, by Marshman, p. 39.

bahdar, in the year 1661, against Assam, with the British martial adventures during the first Burmese war. Having crossed the Brahmapootra, with his stores and provisions, at Rungamutty, Meer Joomla, forming a road as he went,* marched his army by land. The march was tedious, seldom exceeding one or two miles a day; the army was harassed by the enemy.

Meer Joomla shared every privation with the troops. At length, coming to conclusions, the Mogul army struck terror into the hearts of the Assamese. Their Rajah fled into the mountains, and many of the chiefs swore allegiance to the conquerors. Meer Joomla, in the plenitude of his triumph, contemplated planting the Mahomedan flag on the walls of Pekin. But reverses now fell upon the Mussulman. The valley of the Brahmapootra, from the violence of the rains which set in, became one vast sheet of water. The cavalry were rendered useless by want of forage, and the enemy cut off the provisions of the invaders. At length, dire pestilence ravaged the camp; but with the change of season the land dried, disease disappeared, the Moguls regained health and courage, and resuming the offensive, forced the Rajah to solicit peace. Meer Joomla

* This system of making war in a wild country was much in favour with the late Duke of Wellington, and he ascribed Sir Harry Smith's failure at the Cape of Good Hope entirely to his neglect of so salutary a precaution.

was happy to grant this, for he was suffering from disease brought on by exposure.

A large sum of money was paid to the Moguls, but yet was Assam unconquered.

Burmese supremacy over the once independent kingdom of Pegu continued till about the middle of the eighteenth century. The Peguese, however, having obtained assistance from the Dutch and Portuguese, at length took up arms against their oppressors, gained many victories, reduced the far-famed capital, Ava, and took prisoner Dweepdee, the last of a long line of Burmese kings.

But the fallen people were naturally too brave and energetic to remain long in a state of vassalage. The history of European countries present us with more than one instance of a nation long prostrate throwing off a foreign yoke, through the powerful and seemingly magical agency of one man, and such a fortune Burmah was destined to realize. About the year 1753 Alompra arose. He was a man of humble birth, but through the exercise of an indomitable will acquired the possession of a fort in the neighbourhood of the capital. At first, he carried on a sort of guerilla warfare against his enemies the Peguese, and his forces speedily increasing, he suddenly attacked and took Ava. Alompra afterwards invaded Pegu, became master of its capital, extinguished the Pegu or Talain dynasty, and founded the great empire which has existed to this day.

During the war of conquest against the Peguese, we find the French and English traders playing conspicuous parts. M. Bourno, beyond the Ganges, appears to have been as zealous in his way as was the great Dupleix when in his glory at Chandernagore or Pondicherry. The former, no doubt, had an eye to the acquisition on the part of France of the capitals of Ava and Pegu, while the latter plodded over his favourite scheme of reducing Madras and Calcutta to their original condition of fishing-towns. The Frenchman intrigued with both parties; the Englishman, Mr. Brooke,* declared for Alompra.

The Burmese leader was a match for this double dealing, and when an opportunity offered, he ordered Bourno, and all French officers in concert with him, to be slain. And thus, while French power in India was tottering, and when the "heaven-born general" had already advanced some distance on the path to fame, French power and influence in Burmah fell.

Alompra appears to have entertained considerable respect for the English character, notwithstanding that the conduct of some of Brooke's countrymen was highly discreditable, and it is difficult to believe that the great Burmese leader participated in the massacre of the English at Negrais, on the 16th of

* Resident at Negrais, then the Company's chief timber station.

October, 1759. This tragedy seems to have been brought about through a combination of French treachery and jealousy. The massacre was contrived by an Armenian named Gregory, who, jealous of the growing influence of the English, found a ready agent in a young Frenchman named Lavine. This Lavine had been left by his treacherous friend, Bournon, as a hostage, during one of the pretended negotiations with Alompra.

Lavine and Gregory projected the extermination of the English in Burmah. At an entertainment given by one Southby, the successor of Brooke, a Portuguese interpreter, well-known to Lavine, was present as a guest. At a signal given during the evening, the room was filled with armed men. Southby and his English friends were instantly murdered, and soon after all the Indian servants of the factory, upwards of one hundred in number, shared a similar fate. The guns of the fort were turned on the British ships by Lavine, who of course gloried in having performed the chief part in a treacherous and cowardly act, while he beheld our vessels steering for Bengal. Happily in the latter part of our Eastern possessions events were occurring of a cheerful character.

Since the commencement of 1757 Admiral Watson and Clive had regained Calcutta, Chandernagore had been taken from the French, Plassey had been won, and in the same year as the above massacre,

Clive wrote his famous note previous to the entire defeat of the Dutch at Chinsurah :—

“DEAR FORDE, — Fight them immediately ; I will send you the Order in Council to-morrow.”*

It was not long after Clive had fixed the destiny of India, that the famous Alompra died. One of his last actions was to invade Siam, a great valley at the head of a wide gulf, shut in by two ranges of mountains. Death arrested the sword of the conqueror just as he had commenced the siege of the capital. It was left for future adventurers to possess the rich plain of Siam. The inhabitants of this country, unlike the Burmese, are indolent and wanting in courage. It was, therefore, in their destiny to become the prey of the valiant and enterprising.

For many years after the affair at Negrais, English traders confined their operations to Rangoon, “where traffic with the natives was comparatively uninterrupted, except when the ships were impressed by the Burmese to be employed as transports during successive Pegu rebellions.” Shemburen, who may be said to have succeeded Alompra, crushed one of these serious revolts ; he further added to the glory

* Clive received the colonel's letter while he was playing at cards. Without quitting the table he wrote the reply in pencil.—History.

of the empire by defeating a large army of Chinese ; but failed in an attempt to possess the territory of Siam, excepting that part which is at present styled the Tennasserim Provinces, including Mergui. Shemburen's brother afterwards succeeded in annexing the province of Arracan, reaching about five hundred miles along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal to the Burmese empire, which now embraced Ava, Arracan, Pegu, a portion of Siam, and various minor territories bordering on the British possessions. The town and district of Chittagong had been finally lost to the Arracanese in 1666, and annexed to the Subah of Bengal.

The Burmese and British territories now coming into contact, a series of misunderstandings commenced ; the seeds of future war were sown. At the conclusion of a dispute concerning some refugees from Arracan, who had, about the year 1794, found their way into the British territory, Colonel Symes was sent by the Bengal government on a mission to the court of Ava. His object was to establish "amicable relations between the two powers, and especially to procure for British traders immunity from the oppression and extortion to which they were constantly exposed in their visits to Burmese ports."

By the treaty thus concluded, this oppression and extortion was lessened ; but only for a short time. Some years after the mission, about 1811, a serious

rebellion having broken out in Arracan, the king of Ava believed that it had been instigated by the English, and accordingly laid an embargo on all British vessels at Rangoon.

Here was sufficient cause for hostilities. But the cost of the wars in India, promoted during the government of the Marquis Wellesley, had rendered it imperative upon the local rulers who succeeded him, to avoid such an expensive alternative, and another mission was, therefore, in the first instance, preferred. What other inference could an ignorant and isolated potentate draw from this apparent acceptance of indignity, than that the English were powerless to resent, or rated an amicable intercourse with Burmah too highly to risk a permanent rupture? He mistook a prudent policy for fear, founded on inherent weakness, and his arrogance proportionately increased. At first his designs were cloaked by an appearance of inaction, and the time of the British Indian Government was too much occupied by the quarrels with Nepaul and the Mahrattas, to allow of its watching the movements of any power in the South East. But gradually the king of the White Elephant unfolded his schemes of aggrandizement, invaded Assam, reduced Munnipoora,* through the agency of his general, one Bundoola, and although at peace with the British, sent troops into the Company's territories,

* Then an independent state lying between Burmah and Assam.

oppressed our traders, and insulted our flag and country in every possible way.

At this juncture, Lord Amherst landed in Calcutta, on the 1st of August, 1823, as Governor-General of India. He gave his immediate attention to the conduct of the Burmese. An explanation was demanded of the numerous offences committed against the British government; but the haughty and independent reply betrayed a spirit of aggression, and every attempt at an honourable and satisfactory adjustment was met with scornful silence. The Governor-General then declared war against the Burmese. The declaration was dated the 5th of March, 1824, and operations commenced by the advance of a British force, which had been collected at Goalparah, into Assam, while arrangements were made to vigorously prosecute the war in other quarters.

And now commenced the most expensive and harassing war in which the British had ever been engaged in India. Almost totally unacquainted with the character and resources of the country into which our arms were to be carried—unaware of the nature of the climate, which in the marshy districts scarcely yielded to Walcheren in the pestiferous quality of the atmosphere—the government entered upon its arrangements with a recklessness of expense, and a disregard of the future, which ignorance might account for, if it did not wholly excuse.

Steam, at this time, had scarcely asserted its wonderful agency. As an engine of war it was certainly unknown everywhere, although steamers peacefully traversed all the rivers of Great Britain and some parts of the continent of Europe: and in India, so backward had been the endeavours of the government to honour the enterprise of "James Watt," that not more than two or three vessels had begun to boil and bubble through the seas which washed the coasts of Coromandel and of Burmah. Slow-sailing trading-vessels were consequently the only means of transport available for one portion of the army destined to invade Burmah, and such were the difficulties of the country lying between Calcutta and Arracan, that the other part of the force, despatched by land, was three months in reaching its destination.

Rangoon, situated on the Irrawaddy about thirty miles from the sea, was captured by the British in May 1824, and a movement was soon afterwards made into the interior; for the Governor-General of India had resolved to dictate terms to the haughty Burmese ruler only at his capital, in presence of an army prepared to dethrone him as the penalty of refusal. A gallant and stubborn resistance was made by the Burmese throughout the war, which actually lasted nearly two years. Formidable stockades, consisting entirely of timber, everywhere presented a barrier to our advance, and cover to the

enemy, who employed musketry and cannon, as well as the more savage implements of war in the prolonged contest. The heavy periodical rains flooding the land, impeded operations for several months, and during this period of inaction, disease, the result of malaria, penetrated the British camp, and nearly decimated the regiments. Not less than one-half of the invading force was destroyed by the combined agencies of fever and patriotic resistance.* The

* It appears by a return drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, the Deputy Adjutant-General, that during the first year $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the troops were killed in action, while 45 per cent. perished from disease. In the ensuing year the mortality from the same causes had decreased one-half; but the total loss during the war amounted to $72\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the troops engaged. There were present at Rangoon on the 1st of January 1825, officers included :—

Artillery, including Rocket-troops	1,071
European Infantry	4,146
Native Infantry, &c.	7,628
Total	<u>12,845 men.</u>

At Arracan and the S. E. Frontier, on the 1st February 1825, there were 9,937; and at Prome, on the 11th August of the same year, 12,110. The loss, from the commencement to the close of the war, was :—

Grand total of officers	killed	24,	deceased	41 =	65
Native commissioned	„	6,	„	28 =	34
Non-commissioned rank					
and file, Europeans	„	105,	„	3,029 =	3,134
Ditto, Natives	„	90,	„	1,305 =	1,395
Extra, killed, deceased, and missing					450
Total casualties				<u>5,078</u>	

(According to Deputy Adjutant-General's Return, 5,080.)

mortality was frightful; the country, devastated or unfriendly, yielded nothing in the way of sustenance to the troops, and supplies were therefore continually forwarded from India, increasing the cost fearfully, and rendering the condition of the army extremely precarious. By dint of perseverance, and the courage which never deserts British or native troops ably commanded, and with a grand object in view, Assam, Arracan, and Mergui, fell into our hands; the Burmese were defeated at Prome, on the Irrawaddy, and elsewhere; and the troops approaching Ava, the monarch, terrified at the prospect of losing his capital, and perhaps his empire, met them at Yandaboo, where he signed a treaty consenting to pay one million sterling towards the expenses of the war, and ceding Assam, and all the places on the Tenasserim coast. This contribution, and these cessions, fell far short of indemnifying the British India government for the outlay, which, from first to last, had exceeded twelve millions sterling.

The territorial acquisitions, though by no means productive, have not been without their advantages in a commercial and political view. Extending from about $17^{\circ} 35'$ to 10° north latitude, and from $97^{\circ} 30'$ to $99^{\circ} 30'$ east longitude, the "Tenasserim Provinces," as they have since been called, embrace a distance of 500 miles in length, and forty to eighty miles in breadth, according as the sea-coast approaches or recedes from the range of mountains

which forms the eastern boundary of the British territory. This chain of mountains, rich in tin ores and other valuable minerals, runs under different names from north to south, and, draining its eastern slopes into the Gulf of Siam, and its western slopes into the Indian Ocean or Bay of Bengal, forms a clear, well-defined boundary between the kingdom of Siam and the East India Company's possessions.*

The town of Tenasserim was once famous; it is now of little or no importance. Not far from it are tin mines, worked by Chinese, which may arrest the attention of the inquiring traveller. These mines are farmed from our Government; but are understood to be generally unprofitable to the merchants. In Siam, the cultivation of the soil is chiefly carried on by Chinese. Brass and rubies form the principal treasures of this strange country, which, on account of various misunderstandings between the king and other nations, has now an insignificant traffic. After the conclusion of the treaty of Yandaboo, Sir A. Campbell, the Commander-in-Chief, selected the commanding position of Moulmein, at the point of junction of the Salween, the Gyne, and the Attaran rivers, for the permanent cantonment of a British force.

The town of Moulmein has gradually become of considerable commercial importance, and with a good port for shipping, and every prospect of an

* *Calcutta Review*, No. XV. p. 73.

extended timber trade, there is hope that it may one day rise to the dignity of an enlightened and wealthy city.

But why should one town only gain happiness and prosperity in such a land as this? Let us hope that Rangoon, and Pegu, the capital of a once mighty and independent kingdom, may likewise soon prosper through the blessings of an extensive and well-protected commerce, doing honour to the government of the East India Company, and adding glory to the name of Great Britain in India beyond the Ganges.

CHAPTER II.

THE BURMESE PROVOKE A SECOND WAR.

THE treaty of Yandaboo guaranteed the security of our merchants and of our commerce. There was to be no oppression of British subjects. The merchants trading at Rangoon were to be liable to no inordinate exactions. On the whole, it seemed as if civilization had taken a stride, and from intercourse with our countrymen, that the empire founded by Alompra was in a fair way to gain reason and wisdom. But a dark cloud soon gathered on the political horizon which, twenty-six years after the treaty was signed, was to burn and destroy every hope of friendship between us, and force the Indian government, after unexampled long-suffering and patience, to put down "barbarian insolence" by force of arms. At first, the king agreed to receive a representative at Ava; two of our residents were however, successively treated with every indignity, and the last was planted on an island in the Irra-

waddy without provisions, till the river rose and threatened to swamp him and his suite. We therefore withdrew the representative altogether, rather than irritate the barbarous court.

Latterly, our merchants at Rangoon, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty, were subjected to a series of oppressions and exactions, which, if unredressed, must have obliged us to quit the port. The merchants now applied for the interposition of the government of India, by whom the treaty was made.

It is unnecessary to enter into a detail of all the insults heaped upon us by the Burmese. Suffice it to mention one case of injustice and oppression, that of a British captain of a vessel, who, on the false representation of a Burmese pilot, was placed by the Governor of Rangoon in the stocks, and fined nine hundred rupees. This outrage brought forth the sympathy of the good people at Moulmein, who raised a subscription equal to the fine to release the merchant from his unpleasant situation.

To satisfy our oppressed merchants, the Most Noble the Governor-General, remote at the time from Calcutta, demanded the removal of the tyrannical Governor, and the payment of the sum of nine hundred pounds sterling, "the price," as was humourously remarked, "of four or five of the golden spittoons in the palace of Ava." The admission of a resident or agent at Rangoon, or Ava, was also

required. The small sum of money was considered necessary as compensation for losses sustained by Messrs. Lewis and Shepperd, the latter of whom is the party alluded to. The pacific disposition manifested by the Court of Ava, on the receipt of the Governor-General's despatch, induced Commodore Lambert, of the Royal Navy, with his squadron, who had been some time previously deputed to Rangoon, to demand reparation for the extortions practised upon British subjects, contrary to the treaty of Yandaboo. On the first of January, 1852, the King's reply to the Governor-General was delivered; and, with consummate assurance, the Golden Foot professed an anxious desire "to comply with the demands which had been made, and to maintain the relations of peace."

On the morning of the 4th, the new Governor arrived at Rangoon from Ava, "empowered by the King to settle the claims of the Indian Government." He came in regal pomp, attended by a large retinue, consisting of an armament of barges and war boats. The latter, decorated with elaborate carving and gilding, are said to have contained about 3,000 followers. Altogether, during his stately march, the Governor was accompanied by nearly 4,000 men. He had levied the severest exactions on all the towns as he passed, and had in his train ten boats laden with powder.

The ex-Governor of Rangoon, who had for some

days been occupying a small dwelling near Government-house, paid his respects to the Viceroy on his arrival, and was repeatedly closeted with him. It was at first supposed that he would be subjected to a trial—at least an investigation—in the presence of the Viceroy, and a great number of the foreigners had drawn up statements of their grievances. But on the 5th, it was ascertained that he was in high favour with his Excellency, and, on the 6th of January, he departed in triumph to Ava, with all his family and a large retinue, and all the plunder he had accumulated, in fifty boats. A clever trick, truly, in a Governor, whose will for so long a time had been law five hundred miles from the capital!

The day after arrival, the Governor sent an order to Mr. Birrell, a merchant, to take down a flag-staff he had erected, and to remove a gun he had placed in position on his landing-place. Mr. Birrell very properly replied, that the flag-staff having been placed there by the consent of the Commodore, either to signal him in case of their being attacked, or to establish a communication between the Europeans on shore and the ships of war, he could not alter the arrangement without the Commodore's permission. The Governor became enraged at this reply, and immediately ordered all communication with the shipping to be stopped. Commodore Lambert, unwilling to give the Burmese any cause of offence, directed the flag-staff to be removed. But the pro-

hibition of all intercourse with our ships, had already caused the flight of unfortunate carpenters, coolies, and workmen of every description.

Mr. Birrell, on the removal of the flag-staff,* had been directed to inform the Governor that the Commodore had done so on the assurance that their property and persons were safe under his government. Trade was then resumed.

On the evening of this day, Mr. Edwards, the interpreter, visited the Governor of Dalla—a picturesque town, situated opposite Rangoon—and inquired if the promised Governor had *really* arrived. Doubt appears to have arisen on this point among our functionaries, from the fact of so many hours having elapsed without any Viceroy taking notice of the Commodore, either by letter of friendship or simply by the announcement of arrival. The old Governor answered in the affirmative, and wondered at the question “when he must have seen, by the great state and display on the river, that the Governor had arrived.”

On the morning of the 6th, Mr. Edwards was sent to inquire the cause of the Viceroy’s silence, and also to ascertain if it would be convenient for the Governor to receive a deputation, or any public communication. At the door of the mansion, dignified with the appellation of a palace, Mr. Edwards was stopped by a Burmese menial,

* And, we suppose, also of the gun.

who, according to one statement, "drawing his sword, desired him to crouch to the ground, on nearing the presence of his Governor." Mr. Edwards sent word by another servant, that he was waiting with a message from the Commodore. He was then admitted. On the Interpreter's complaining of the ill-treatment received at the door, the culprit was ordered into the presence: he was then, we are told, "punished, and dragged out of the room by the hair of his head."

Orders were also issued, that no one was to be stopped who had business with the Governor from the Commodore.

The Viceroy's bearing was courteous. He informed Mr. Edwards that he would at all times be happy to hear from the Commodore, or to see him. In this there was good behaviour on the part of the Viceroy; but, according to another statement, the Governor "spoke in a tone of derision which created no small merriment among the officers around him." Not long after this curious interview, a deputation started to wait on the Viceroy.

It consisted of Captain Fishbourne, of H. M. S. *Hermes*, Captain Latter, the chief Interpreter, and some other officers.* And now commenced Burmese incivility to the fullest extent, notwithstanding the fact that the Commodore had received

* The deputation likewise included, we believe, Mr. Southey, the Commodore's Secretary.

every deputation from shore with the greatest courtesy. On their arrival at Government-house, the members were not admitted to the Viceroy's presence. Some of the Burmese officers had thought them mad in attempting what was considered such audacity towards their new Governor. Our officers, therefore, had been obliged to force their way, through a crowd of insolent barbarians, to the neighbourhood of the hall of audience. They were prevented from going up-stairs, till the Viceroy's permission had been obtained. After some minutes, Captain Latter was informed that his Excellency was asleep, and could not be disturbed. At this very time of glorious repose, the wily Governor had telegraphed for Mr. Edwards to come into the presence, which the deputation, of course, would not allow him to do. Captain Latter urged the necessity of seeing the Viceroy, before their departure ; but "every remonstrance on his part, with the most distinguished of the officers present, proved unavailing." The members of the deputation returned to the Commodore, reporting what had taken place, and the great insult to which they had been subjected.

According to the established law of nations, on a demand for justice being refused, reprisals follow of right. The property of any Burmese subjects "might have been lawfully seized, but it was deemed much better to take what was notoriously

the King's than to distress individuals who might never have been compensated by their own Government, and who would probably have been punished for complaining."* Certainly, the whole affair was left to the Commodore's discretion, and it is difficult to see how any act of his could have been more natural or proper, than that of seizing the King's ship, then lying in the harbour; this was done. In the afternoon of the day on which the deputation was insulted, a message was sent from the flag-ship, requesting all British merchants and residents at Rangoon to repair on board the frigate. Those who claimed British protection, were but too glad to find it in this instance. The Commodore stated to them what he had done, how he had failed to maintain pacific relations, and how the British Government and Flag had been grossly insulted, "and that the insult was manifestly intentional, and not accidental." All were ordered to embark that evening, as the town was to be placed under blockade. The *Proserpine* steamer would be sent to cover their embarkation. The grand FLIGHT is graphically described in the "*Friend of India*" (a Bengal newspaper), and is evidently from the pen of an eye-witness. "The *Proserpine* steamer ran close into the main wharf, and eight or ten of the boats from the frigate and steamers came to the shore to protect and receive the fugitives. Meanwhile, the streets were filled

* *Bengal Hurkaru and Calcutta Englishman.*

with armed Burmese, and Burmese officers were moving to and fro on horseback, threatening all who gave assistance to the foreigners; in consequence of which, not a cooly could be procured. All classes of foreigners—Moguls, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English—were seen crowding down to the river with boxes and bundles, and whatever they could carry, but they were obliged, generally, to abandon all the property they possessed. Mr. Kincaid, the American missionary, left his library, consisting of more than a thousand volumes, the collection of twenty years, behind him to be destroyed, too happy, however, to find his wife and children safe under the British flag." "By eight o'clock," says one authority, "all the British subjects had embarked, and by midnight the whole of the ships were removed by the steamers from off the town; the men-of-war all moved, and the King of Burmah's ship taken with the fleet some five miles down the river." On the 7th, all ships were ordered to prepare for their departure out of the Rangoon waters, to be convoyed by the men-of-war out of the river.

On the 8th, the H. C.'s steamer *Proserpine* left for Moulmein with upwards of two hundred* refugees on board. During these important transactions, we are informed that Burmese officers came repeatedly to the flag-ship "to offer excuses for the rudeness of the

* Numbering near four hundred, with their families.—*Bengal Hurkaru*.

Viceroy, but none of them were accredited. The Commodore insisted that the Viceroy should himself apologize for the insult offered to the British flag, and engaged, in that case, to return and forget the past." At length, it seemed that there was one exception to the intolerable arrogance and insolence of the Burmese officials, in the person of the old Governor of Dalla, who came on board the *Fox*, and entreated the Commodore "to give him time to see the Viceroy, and persuade him to apologize." Out of regard to the venerable age of the Governor, he was allowed till the evening to try his best at this work of peace. But his Highness of Rangoon had come from Ava and Prome with no such views. The Lord of the White Elephant would again try conclusions with us in the field. He had forgotten the campaign of 1824, and did not deem favourably of our prowess from comparatively recent victories over the Chinese only—a nation over which the kingdom of Ava had been triumphant many centuries ago.

While the old Governor of Dalla was supposed to be absent on his mission, a written document arrived from the Viceroy, stating that, "if the Commodore attempted to pass the two stockades which had been erected down the river, he would be fired upon." The Commodore replied that if even a pistol were fired, he would level the stockades with the ground. And with this mutual determination may be said to have commenced the second Burmese war!

In the fulfilment of his plans, the Commodore now issued the following

“ NOTIFICATION.”

“In virtue of authority from the Most Noble the Governor-General of British India, I do hereby declare the rivers of Rangoon, the Bassein and the Salween above Moulmein, to be in a state of blockade; and with the view to the strict enforcement thereof, a competent force will be stationed in or near the entrance of the said rivers immediately.

“Neutral vessels lying in either of the blockaded rivers will be permitted to retire within twenty days from the commencement of the blockade.

“Given under my hand, on board Her Britannic Majesty’s frigate *Fox*, off the town of Rangoon, the 6th of January, 1852.

(Signed) “GEORGE ROBERT LAMBERT,
“Commodore in Her Britannic
“Majesty’s Navy.

“By Command of the Commodore.

(Signed) “JAMES LEWTHER SOUTHEY,
“Secretary.”

Before the departure of the *Fox*, large war-boats were observed proceeding from Rangoon to rendez-

vous at the stockades, at which, it was said, five thousand men were congregated.*

It was soon reported in Moulmein and Calcutta, that, even at this early period, twelve thousand men were ready at Rangoon to do battle with us: in a few weeks there would be at least thirty thousand.

On the 9th of January, the day after the *Proserpine* left, and the threatening letter had been written to the Commodore, the *Hermes* steamer towed the *Fox* down to off the upper stockade. The *Hermes* then returned to bring on the King's ship to keep the frigate company. The merchantmen, at the same time, prepared to pass down the river. It was early in the morning when these decisive movements commenced. The sun seemed not to shine with its usual splendour. It was evident that some great change had taken place in our relations with Burmah, and that the British lion had been roused from his forbearance.

At length, the *Hermes* came in sight, rounding the point with the Burmese prize-vessel in tow. As she passed the stockade, guns in rapid succession were opened on the vessels of war; at the same time, volleys of musketry were discharged upon them. The

* The Burmese were jealous of these river defences; for it is a popular belief among them, that if they were destroyed, the temple of Gaudama, who is supposed to keep a watchful eye over them, would be lost.

Fox immediately returned the enemy's fire by a terrific broadside ; she likewise thundered forth against the war-boats which had ventured into the river.

The *Hermes* then came up, and poured forth her shot and shell into the line of stockade. The *Phlegethon* steamer, likewise, did vast destruction to the works. For nearly two hours were our vessels employed in spreading ruin and dismay around. During the conflict, a large gun-boat, having on board a gun of considerable calibre, and upwards of sixty armed men, was sunk by a broadside, when nearly all on board perished. Altogether, about three hundred of the enemy were killed, and about the same number wounded, in this first encounter with the Burmese. As the vessels proceeded down to the next stockade, they were again fired on, but only by musketry.

It was remarked, at the conclusion of these operations, that the enemy "probably had no intention of serious resistance, but felt themselves obliged to make some show of defence, when they saw the King's property taken off, as the heads of the leading men were at stake." *

* "The Governor did not state that the Commodore would not be permitted to pass the stockades with the king's ship ; but that he would be fired on if he attempted to remove any British property. There is, therefore, every reason to believe, that if the royal vessel had not been touched, the stockades would equally have opened a fire on our vessels, as they passed down the river."—*Friend of India*, Feb. 5.

After the Commodore's engagement with the stockades, he departed for Calcutta in the *Hermes*, to report progress, and receive additional instructions. The *Proserpine*, from Moulmein, with despatches for Government, and intelligence of the insult to the deputation, the "flight," and the blockade, had previously reached Calcutta.

Commodore Lambert did not, as was expected, find the Governor-General at Calcutta; but, on the 18th of January, an Extraordinary Council was held, after which a despatch was sent off to Lord Dalhousie; and the 18th Royal Irish were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for embarkation. It was afterwards decided to send down at once to Moulmein a wing of the regiment, and a company of artillery, in all about five hundred men, for the protection of that important post in the Tenasserim Provinces. The Commodore, in the *Hermes*, reached the Rangoon river about the 27th, without, on account of the absence of the Governor-General, any positive instructions.

The Governor-General arrived at Calcutta on the night of the 29th of January; and, on the following day, as was to be expected, Burmese affairs formed the absorbing business of the Council. It was stated that his Lordship gave his entire approbation to the proceedings of Commodore Lambert. A report reached Calcutta, on the 30th ult., of the Burmese having threatened an attack on the province of Arra-

can. And now despatch really became the order of the day. The *Precursor*, a magnificent steam-vessel, belonging to the P. O. S. Navigation Company, with the 67th N. I., and half a company of Native Artillery, on board, departed immediately from Calcutta for Arracan. The vessel was coaled, victualled, and made ready for sea, in eight-and-forty hours after obtaining the contract for transporting the troops! In the first chapter, we have casually alluded to her rapid voyage. "When the huge *Precursor* made her appearance at Kyook Phyoo," writes an officer, "all the native boats fled, frightened at her size." The 80th—Queen's Regiment—reached Fort William from Dinapore on the 30th of January; and it was expected the remaining wing of the 18th Royal Irish would be immediately despatched to Moulmein or Arracan. This last movement, fortunately, never took place. The threatened province remained in a state of profound tranquillity. "An officer had been deputed to the Aeng Pass, in the heart of the Zama mountains, which separate Arracan from the basin of the Irrawaddy; and he saw trade going on as briskly as ever. Many Burmese and Shan (Siamese) merchants were passing and re-passing with their cattle, laden with merchandize, as though nothing had happened, or was likely to happen. But, notwithstanding the undisturbed state of the upper part of the valley of the Irrawaddy, the despatch of some troops to Arracan was a wise measure at such a crisis."

We return to the gallant Commodore. A steamer was detained at Calcutta, immediately on his departure for Rangoon, to bring an answer to the despatch sent off by express to the Governor-General. The *Fire Queen* arrived off Rangoon river at the end of January. Soon after arrival, she anchored ahead of the *Fox*, and "towed her up off the Hastings Sand, which is about four or five miles below Rangoon." On proceeding up the river, or passing the first stockade—some twelve or fifteen miles from the entrance—the steamer and frigate were both fired upon, by which the *Fox* lost a man. The frigate returned the fire with shot and shell. The *Tenasserim*, while passing up the river the following day, was also fired upon, and the *Fire Queen* in passing down.* The *Fire Queen* had brought a despatch to the Commodore, also a letter to "His High Mightiness" on shore, from the Governor-General. The *Fox*, on arriving off Rangoon, sent a boat in charge of a lieutenant, accompanied by Captain Latter, with a flag of truce, to convey letters from the Governor-General and the Commodore to the Viceroy.

A written apology, we believe, was required by Lord Dalhousie from the Rangoon governor to himself, for the insult offered to the deputation. And with this exception no fresh demands were made. The next day a reply was returned to the Com-

* The *Fire Queen* took the intelligence to Calcutta, arriving on the 9th of February.

modore, and one forwarded for the Governor-General by the hands of a dirty non-official, who might have passed for a coolie or a cow-herd, in a canoe befitting his appearance. This was probably intended as a mark of disrespect by the authorities to the straightforward negotiator on board the *Fox*. To avoid the Commodore as much as possible, letters were now sent from the Viceroy to the Governor-General *via* Martaban to Moulmein, to be forwarded by the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces. One of these despatches is said to have been forwarded with due civility, the messenger asking permission of the blockading vessel to pass over.

Then came a letter, about the 7th of February, from the King of Ava, which arrived at Moulmein in due state. The Martaban officials wished the Commissioner, and not the Commodore, to settle the whole affair.* Colonel Bogle and Commodore

* Towards the middle of February, the H. C.'s steamer *Phlegethon* arrived in Calcutta. "His Majesty is said to write peacefully. He professes to have been deceived by the authorities at Rangoon; of course, the usual plea—it was his servants, not himself, who were insolent; and desires, hereafter, to be communicated with through Major Bogle, the Commissioner, and not through the Commodore. The time for the intervention of the civil power is, we suspect, past. It is not said that his Majesty professes any desire to come into the terms proposed as indispensable before amicable relations could be resumed."—*Bombay Times*.

Lambert were, in their opinion, personages as different in relative importance and character, as Gaudama and Siva. One was all thunder and lightning, the other a beautiful example of calm and dignified repose. But this Burmese interpretation of the character of the gallant sailor, or that of his frigate, did not lessen the power of a saying, which every sharp school-boy can translate—*Ingenium in numerato habet*.

H. M.'s brig *Serpent*, some days before the arrival of the king of Ava's letter at Moulmein, destroyed three small stockades at the entrance of Negrais river, off which she was stationed. The Burmese fired upon her, in fulfilment of repeated threats. Captain Luard very humanely abstained from returning the fire, on account of the number of harmless villagers about; he simply landed his men, and burned the works of the enemy. The Burmese seemed determined to provoke a war.

At length, on the 10th or 12th of February, it was decided by the Indian Government to send an expedition to Burmah. It was conjectured that, if actual hostilities should not ultimately become necessary, the appearance of an armament might probably excite the apprehensions of the Burmese, and induce them to yield to the just demands of the British.

CHAPTER III.

SAYINGS AND DOINGS AT MADRAS.

THE practice of journalizing, cordially recommended by the illustrious Lord Bacon, has so much to recommend it that the marvel is, not that it is occasionally resorted to, but that it is not almost universal. Memory is so apt to play us false; the most trivial circumstances are liable to become so distorted or obscured by the intervention of even a brief space of time, that no reliance can be placed on the truth of any description that is not nearly coeval with the incident narrated. Moreover, the labour of a diary is light, while that of generalizing from recollection is often severe.

As we owe much to the diaries of our countrymen and others, who have been located in different parts of the world at stirring epochs, it occurred to the author of these pages, that he also might be rendering a service to society, and provide fitting materials for the future historian, if he "set in his

note-book" the events which were now likely to vary and distinguish each succeeding day.

Quartered at St. Thomas's Mount, the headquarters of the Madras Artillery, a picturesque spot eight miles from Madras, and one of the liveliest stations of the army, the opportunities he enjoyed of hearing and witnessing the din of warlike preparation were not to be neglected. He resolved to open a journal, and to be as faithful to his self-imposed task as his professional avocations would allow. The narrative form, hitherto adopted, is therefore suspended, and a transcript from the diary of the author submitted to the reader.

February 19th, 1852.—Orders received at St. Thomas's Mount for three European Companies of Artillery, to hold themselves in readiness for field-service in Burmah. Instructions have also been received by the Madras government, to hold in readiness "for immediate embarkation for Rangoon, if necessary," H. M.'s 51st Regt. K. O. L. I., two regiments of Native Infantry, and one Engineer officer. Bengal is to furnish a similar force, and an officer of rank is to command the whole. A Company of Artillery from that Presidency, with Major Reid and Lieutenant Boyle, also a wing of H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish, left Fort William about a month ago, in the Hon. Company's steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine*, to reinforce Moulmein. In the papers it is stated that a spirit of life and

activity reigns among the military establishments in Calcutta. Of course, in Madras, too, it will now be all double work—work for the prospect of “glorious war” is a capital sauce to exertion. About the 21st of February, orders were received in Bombay, from the Governor-General, for all the war-steamers that could be spared to be sent to Rangoon without a moment's delay, ready for immediate action. The *Feroze* was to be at once converted into a frigate, and placed under the command of Captain Lynch, as Commodore of the Indian Navy Squadron. The *Moozuffer*, *Zenobia*, *Sesostris*, and *Medusa*, were the other vessels appointed; the *Berenice* to act as troop and store-ship. A month hence there will, in all likelihood, be a fleet of at least eight large, and five second-class war-steamers assembled in the Burmese waters, one of the largest collections of this fearfully formidable class of ships that has ever been brought together for purposes of actual hostility. The *Feroze* and *Moozuffer* are each vessels of 500 horse-power and 1,500 tons, the *Sesostris* of 300 horse-power and 1,200 tons, all armed with guns of eight-inch calibre, throwing hollow shot and shells to the distance of a couple of miles.* Expedition in marine matters was never practised with greater success than in the preparation of these Bombay war-steamers for service. In a few days everything was ready, reflect-

* *Bombay Times*. See, also, Appendix No. 1.

ing the highest credit on Commodore Lushington, and the officers of the Indian Navy. The squadron was ordered round to Madras for the conveyance of the troops to Rangoon. The steamers were expected to arrive early in March.

February 22nd. — The bustle at the Mount is exciting. "They won't go after all!" say some. "There will be tough work, I bet!" say others. But even those who have a fancy that the troops will "never cross the surf," are very busy withal. Extraordinary doings at the Mount have certainly begun. News arrived to-day that the Burmese have one hundred guns at and about Rangoon. It is reported that the old town of Rangoon has been burned by order of the Governor, and that the new one is strongly fortified. The new town was founded by Tharawaddy not many years since, and a fort built about one mile and a half inland from the old site. An authority from Calcutta says:—Information has been received that all the houses in Rangoon are razed to the ground, and the inhabitants removed to Oakahlabad, the new town; that this position is being doubly stockaded with the wooden materials from the houses destroyed at the old.

March 2nd.—The Madras Artillery officers of the expedition to Rangoon dined with Colonel St. Maur, and the officers of H. M. 51st K. O. L. I., meeting those of the 35th and 9th Madras Native Infantry. It was a grand and social entertainment. The Artil-

lery return the compliment paid us by H. M. 51st to-morrow evening.

These social gatherings, before proceeding on service, are unquestionably conducive to the establishment of mutual good feeling in the army. They tend to keep that friendship, which should ever exist amongst soldiers, in good repair at a critical time.

Regarding the curiosity excited among the Burmese by firing off a 68-pounder shot into one of their stockades, the following absurd, but characteristic "story" was brought to Madras, a few days ago, from Rangoon. The shot was taken before the Governor by an official. The latter functionary, who had weighed it, declared its weight to be equal to sixty-eight pounds. The Governor was sceptical; but at length, having fully satisfied himself as to the weight, and having commended rather than punished the official for his information, to crown his surprise, and probably show his master, from the demon just projected by a ship's gun, what a dreadful enemy he had to deal with in the British, he ordered the huge shot to be immediately forwarded to the King of Ava! *

* During the last war, the following incident occurred. At an early period of the operations, the chief, Bundoola, having heard so much of the destructive properties of a shell, desired that one should be brought to him for inspection. A shell, with a very long fuse, having been projected by the British, the live *creature* was being brought, fizzing at a dreadful rate,

Sunday, March 7th.—The squadron of war-steamers of the Indian Navy, with the exception of the *Zenobia* and *Medusa*, arrived in the roads.

From Calcutta we learn (it is reported in confidence) that, in the Governor-General's reply to the King of Ava's letter, there is a demand for the expenses of the war to the extent of ten lacs of rupees, "to be paid within a limited period, and to be doubled if not immediately made good." Preparations for war are uninterrupted.

The *Calcutta Gazette*, of the 25th of February, has the following notification regarding Burmah, "which shows that the Governor-General is determined to enforce his demand for satisfaction from the Golden Foot":—

"The following additional notification of blockade issued by Commodore G. R. Lambert, under authority from the Government of India, is published for general information.

"The Barragu River, and other outlets of the Irrawaddy, are included in the blockade declared by me on the 6th instant.

to Bundoola. This they thought to be a decided failure, and the thing might be examined. The warrior, at some distance, surveyed, with great curiosity, the unfortunate men bringing the fiery fiend along. Another second or two, and it burst, killing the carriers and every one beside it. Bundoola was thunderstruck; and, for the whole of that day, his courage left him.

“ Given under my hand, on board her Britannic Majesty’s steam-sloop *Hermes*, in the Bassein River, on the 25th of January, 1852.

(Signed) “ G. R. LAMBERT,
“ Commander in her Britannic
“ Majesty’s Navy.

“ By order of the M. N. the Governor-
“ General of India in Council.”

March 9th.—“ They insist on war, war they shall have with a vengeance.” The *Delhi Gazette* quotes this well-known remark, made by the Governor-General, in his speech at Barrackpore, before the triumphs of the second Punjaub war, asserting that war with Burmah, on the most extensive scale, has been resolved on. They are likewise informed, in the north-west, that “ a requisition for ten thousand men, including two Queen’s regiments, has reached Madras. It is recorded in history that Madras sepoy were the first, if not the last, among our native troops to cross bayonets with French infantry ; they surely never can forget that.”* What would Bernadotte, the late King of Sweden, have thought had he read these words ? “ Native troops cross bayonets with French infantry ? ” he might have muttered, while one of the scenes of a long, eventful life rushed to his memory. He was once a plain ser-

* *Delhi Gazette*, Feb. 21.

geant, serving in the Deccan, and first distinguished himself at Cuddalore! Had the Government of France possessed the sagacity of the English East India Company, Bernadotte might have shared in the foundation of an empire.

“Look there, sir! Do you know who that is at the end of the room?” said a late Governor of Pondicherry to the writer of this narrative. A marble bust of Dupleix adorned the audience-chamber at Government House. “There, sir, is the man who gave Clive the idea of conquering and keeping this country by its own inhabitants! The East India Company assisted Clive, and cherished the idea. But Dupleix, for this, and many other of his mighty schemes, was thought a madman by the French; and thus the empire we should have founded and preserved was lost!”

March 20th.—The news is various and interesting. Some Burmese have arrived in Calcutta, and reported that twenty thousand men are ready to stand against us. From Rangoon to Ava, the enemy are said to be determined to dispute every inch of the way. *Nous verrons!* April is the hottest month in the year in Burmah, the thermometer ranging from 90° to 95°; and in that month we shall be employed! But that is better than delay until after the rains, in October. War is to be; and, with such resources as ours, “’*T were well it were done quickly!*”

Major Oakes, Director of the Madras Artillery

Depôt of Instruction, and Major Montgomery, of the Mysore Commission, are to command two of our three companies going on service. It is a splendid opportunity for the former, who has long been desirous of distinguishing himself in the field. Report speaks highly of the intelligence and activity of the latter. Action is really here the genius of nature.*

Under the zealous superintendence of Major Croggan, M. A., the serious business of ranges and fusees, also mounting and dismounting ordnance, have formed no inconsiderable portion of exercise before embarkation. At Dum Dum, † it appears, a small stockade has been erected, which was to be immediately blown up, for practice. The men of H. M.'s 80th Regiment, just arrived from Dinapore, have performed the mimic task of storming the Burmese stockades, "which they practised in the cunette of Fort William, crossing the ditch, and placing their bamboo scaling-ladders against the angle of the bastion opposite Calcutta. The sight was a pretty one," continues the Calcutta journalist, "but resembled the play of 'Hamlet,' with Hamlet left out. The Burmese were wanting; and we could not help thinking that, as some of our timid contemporaries have been suggesting the probability of the large number of them that are now in Calcutta sacking the city, it would have been as well to have

* Dr. Blair.

† Head Quarters of the Bengal Artillery.

had them on the ramparts of Fort William during yesterday's siege, and there settled accounts with them."

March 25th.—The *Zenobia* and *Medusa* are now added to the squadron in the Madras Roads; and we expect to start in a few days for Rangoon.

March 28th.—Orders have, at length, been received for immediate embarkation. Madras is only to furnish one complete battery;* the other two companies will be provided with ordnance from Bengal. We suppose this is on account of the difficulty of embarking heavy guns with such a terrific surf as that at this port.

Be that as it may, Madras is to have no Commissary of Ordnance; for the best of all reasons—we do not now require one. But, had a sufficient portion of ordnance been furnished by our presidency, that excellent officer, Captain W——, was to have been appointed—one who, to a perfect knowledge of all artillery duty, adds a sly sort of humour, very pleasant in company.

Colonel Elliott, K.H., of H. M.'s 51st Light Infantry, is to command the Madras Brigade.†

At two o'clock, on the morning of the 31st of March, the artillery set out from St. Thomas's Mount for the beach. The band accompanied the

* Under Major Oakes. A. Company, 4th Battalion—a light field battery.

† For Formation of, see Appendix, No. II.

force, and played several appropriate airs. The march was distinguished by the usual shouting, cheering, and singing, in which European soldiers love to indulge on departure from an old station. The embarkation presented a grand and exciting scene—such as a man may only witness once in his life. It was a splendid morning, which, added to the refreshing appearance of the blue waters, and the numerous vessels afloat, was calculated to fill the adventurer with life, and hope, and joy. The Madras shore at any time is impressive and picturesque, from the roar of the wild and dashing surf, the clear blue sky, the long line of elegant buildings fringing the beach, and then the incessant going to and fro of *massulah* boats and *catamarans*, communicating with ships in the roads. But now the whole line of beach was covered with a vast multitude of living creatures, men, women, and children. Hundreds of boats were in readiness to be filled, and all the Madras troops were to embark as nearly as possible at the same time. Old bullock bandies came creaking along, very late, wending their way to the boats. Knapsacks, under the superintendence of Europeans and Jack Sepoy, were thrown into the uncouth machines, so admirably adapted for crossing the surf. In spite of the excellent arrangements made by the Quarter-Master-General, and the presence of many distinguished officers, to maintain anything like order was absolutely impossible. The Madras surf alone is

enough to put order out of countenance. There were parting scenes with relatives of the most tender nature. Among many pictures, it was painful to notice the anxious countenance of the Hindu-British wife, who, perhaps, was never to see her husband more: and then, in case of misfortune, *who* would father the children in their journey through life? The grief of some relatives was excessive; for, certainly, of those now departing to encounter “moving accident by flood and field,” many would not be spared to return to the familiar shore on which they had just taken such an affectionate farewell!

The following exhibits the number of people who embarked on board the several vessels of the fleet:—

	Souls.
<i>Feroze</i>	850
<i>Moozuffer</i>	850
<i>Zenobia</i>	600
<i>Sesostris</i>	500
<i>Berenice</i>	550
<i>Medusa</i>	100
<i>Rockliffe</i>	160
<i>Sir Thomas Gresham</i>	220
<i>Hempsyche</i>	220
<i>Atalanta</i>	338
Total Officers, Soldiers, and followers .	4,388

C. B.*

* The initials of our worthy and indefatigable Master Attendant, Capt. Christopher Biden.

CHAPTER IV.

THE VOYAGE TO RANGOON.

Thursday, April 1st.—On board the *Berenice*, which is allotted to the Artillery. The *Moozuffer*, *Feroze*, *Zenobia*, and *Sesostris*, convey Her Majesty's 51st, and the regiments of Native Infantry. The *Medusa*, filled with stores and followers, keeps in rear of the *Berenice*. The four large war-steamers above-mentioned take in tow the transports,* *Atalanta*, *Rockliffe*, *Sir Thomas Gresham*, and *Hemp-syche*—on the whole, as glorious a set of names as ever honoured steam-vessels, or moved from a port.

We have all slept off the excitement of yesterday's embarkation, and every one on board is in a quiet humour this morning. The *Berenice* has good

* Containing officers of the Madras Sappers, with their department; one or two Artillery officers in charge of *karkhanas* (i. e. bullocks), commissariat stores, ordnance stores, cattle, &c. &c.

accommodation for passengers, and on the whole, both officers and men are tolerably comfortable.

April 5th.—All steaming bravely along, the vessels, as Canning once remarked, walking the water “like giants rejoicing in their course.” The scene presented at night is impressive, and suggestive of reflection. As the Artillery keep watch for a portion of each night, I am much on deck, noiselessly pacing for hours among sleeping soldiers, whose dreams mayhap partake of a curious admixture of the events of their past life, and the dim shadows of the future. Turning from the moving spectacle of “death in life,” for such is the true interpretation of slumber, the eye wanders over the vast glossy expanse, through which the vessel forges her way, only illumined by the phosphorescence of the waters, and the lights of contiguous vessels, which ever and anon shift their position, as a slight deviation in the steerage carries them for a moment out of their appointed course.

It has been interesting to observe the occasional signalizing in the squadron. The Commodore hoists from the *Feroze*, “Is she at full speed?” or orders, “Reduce the supply of water from eight to six pints per day!” What next? think many who have no right to grumble. “Keep your appointed places!”—another signal—suddenly appears, as if to remark that more than the steam-vessels were out of order.

April 6th.—We have had a good evening's entertainment from the men, in the way of singing and dancing, our gallant colonel, and all the officers, being present at the exhibition. Some of the performers and vocalists really displayed talent. But the gratification they afforded was alloyed by the reflection, that many of these young men had been destined for a higher and better position in life, which a misplaced ambition, a wild spirit of enterprise, or a looseness of principle, had sacrificed. There is so broad a line of demarcation between the commissioned officer and the soldier in the East India Company's Service, that no hope exists for the latter of a rise to the higher grade; but there are many situations and appointments in connection with the army, or of a more civil cast, to which a well-conducted soldier may aspire, and if they could be made as sensible of the importance of steadiness and sobriety, as they are conscious of the possession of talent, they would find opportunities of redeeming time. But the accursed spirit of drink interposes its baneful influence, and counteracts all the force of precept and the blandishment of hope.

April 7th.—The muddy water this morning betrays we are near Burmah. The dark fluid proceeds from the mouth of the gigantic Irrawaddy,* of which there are some fourteen mouths, not too many for a body one thousand miles in length.

* Appendix, No. 3.

We expect to reach the mouth of the Rangoon river this afternoon, if we do not put in to Amherst for water. At break of day it was discovered that the *Feroze*, leading the first division, was out of sight. The Commodore had been too fast for us; but after a short time, the squadron reunited. It is in two divisions: the *Feroze*, *Moozuffer*, *Berenice*, and *Medusa*,* forming the first, the *Sesostris* and *Zenobia* the second.

Saw land at 1 P. M.; anchored at the mouth of the Rangoon river about half-past three. Coast, a picturesque line of territory, with palmyras, mangroves, and many large trees, nobly extending to the rear. Passing Elephant Point, so styled from two famous trees growing there in the form of an elephant, a conical red pagoda, falling to ruins, appears rising from the jungle. Gaudama certainly showed some wisdom in selecting such a position for a shrine, as if he had once showered down commercial prosperity on the empire, and placed a sentinel over it at the mouth of one of his rivers, which prosperity, on account of the misconduct of his devotees, was, like the small temple, hastening to a fall.

April 8th.—Yesterday, on arrival, we discovered

* This useful little iron steamer had been towed by the *Berenice* since the 2nd inst. Slow at sea; but, from her drawing not more than three or four feet of water, invaluable in Burmah.

that the Admiral and General had proceeded with H. M.'s war-steamers, *Hermes*, *Rattler*, *Salamander*, and the Hon. Company's steamer *Proserpine*, to attack Martaban, and bring on troops to the chief scene of action.

On the 28th of March, Admiral Austen, commanding in the Eastern seas, had left Penang in the screw steamer *Rattler*. He arrived off the mouth of the Rangoon river on the 1st of April. On the 2nd the Bengal division, in four steamers, the *Hermes*, *Tenasserim*, *Enterprise*, *Fire Queen*,* and four transports, arrived under General Godwin.

MARTABAN.

On the 3rd of April, the General and Admiral left for Moulmein, nearly opposite which is Martaban, and reached the capital of the Tenasserim Provinces† the next day at noon. Martaban is situated on the right or north bank of the Salween river. The town to be attacked had been considered by the Burmese a position of high importance. And there can be no doubt that it is so. In a military point of view, it is capable of making a very formidable defence. On the river appears the usual array of houses; then, as you recede, trees extending to a hill, at the top of which is a pagoda;

* The three last Company's steamers.

† i. e. Moulmein.

then other hills stretching further away, adding dignity and grandeur to the landscape. An expectant warrior from Moulmein, wrote on the 27th Feb.:—"We can both see and hear the Burmese on the other side of the river at Martaban, which is the place we are to attack, and it is my opinion that we shall have a great deal of trouble in crossing the river, and lose a great many men, as the enemy are five to one of our troops. The enemy had stockaded about the foot of the hill; near this a large pagoda offered another point for defence. A line of brick-work also served to strengthen the position. It may be stated, that a considerable portion of the town had been burned down by order of the Governor of Martaban. But still the rebellious spirit had not perished in the flames. Friends were there ready enough to meet us, as they boasted; but the sad reality came upon them on the 5th of April."

On that day the war-steamers appeared in front of the town, and immediately opened fire against the defences. A storming party was then formed, headed by Colonel Reignolds, H. M.'s 18th Regt. They attacked the chief position under a heavy fire of guns and musketry, and in a few seconds Martaban fell. A Company of Bengal Artillery did not come into action, and thus, with few troops engaged,* and a loss

* Only a wing of the Royal Irish.

of life on our side hardly worth mentioning, the occupation of an important position formed a brilliant commencement to the campaign. Martaban is distant from Rangoon about seventy miles. On the afternoon of the 8th, the Admiral and General were again at the mouth of the Rangoon river. We were all on the tip-toe of expectation; at length the *Rattler* came steaming in gloriously, showing off her screw power to great advantage.

Then came the *Hermes*. The right wings of H. M.'s 18th and 80th Regiments, also a Company of Bengal Artillery, and two of Madras Sappers,* were the troops brought from Moulmein by the General. Loud cheering greeted the arrival of the two steamers. The distinguished 18th Royal Irish were now "all present." While the right wing passed along in the steamer to take up position, the band struck up the favourite air of "St. Patrick's Day;" then came the "British Bayoneteers;" this music on the water had a fine effect. Now "the food of love" became the food of war.†

* The Sappers under Lieut. Ford, who commanded them at Martaban.

† The General left Calcutta on the 25th of March. The arrangements made were as follows:—"The *Tubal Cain*, hospital ship, will be towed by H. M.'s steamer *Hermes*; the *Lahore*, with the ordnance, ammunition, &c., by the *Tenasserim*; and the *Monarch*, with the Engineers' park, scientific instruments, by the *Enterprise*. General Godwin, with his staff, will take

Towards sunset the *Berenice*, preceded by the *Feroze*, started for about ten miles up the river to procure water. The luxuriant mangrove down to the water's edge, was exceedingly striking. Occasionally you might see a picture of rare beauty: a small creek, like a sheet of glass, sleeping among the foliage.

On arrival, we found H. M.'s brig *Serpent*, and other ships at anchor. A party of Europeans were at Bassein Creek for the protection of those who went to fetch water. All night watering, watering; and very muddy and brackish stuff the water was. The water at Aden, and the aqueous delusions at various spas and elsewhere, in taste, a perfect joke to it.

April 9th.—This morning we have a good view of Bassein Creek—truly, a beautiful spot. A Burmese house, a long pole with a wooden goose at the top of it, pitched near the lofty wooden dwelling, betrayed we had come into a strange land. On the banks of the noble river a solitary crane was observed.

We tow the *Juliana*, containing the Bengal Commissariat establishment, to Rangoon. She has a motley set on board. Some with handsome solemn

his passage in the *Hermes*, with one Company of the 40th B. N. I., and followers, and horses, six in number, for the mounted officers. The main part of the 40th will embark in the *Tenasserim*."

faces ; some with broad, grinning mouths, and every variety of *pugaree* ;* some very dirty, some very clean ; dirty and clean, busy and idle, all packed together in a little world. As the steamer approached to take her in tow, a difficult business commenced. The *kauwers* would go wrong ; for a time it was " confusion worse confounded ;" but time, which sets nearly everything right, at last set the *Berenice* with the *Juliana* on their way rejoicing. About three in the afternoon we were rapidly advancing to a new position, some three or four miles from Rangoon. Proceeding up the river, two stockades in ruins were visible. These had been destroyed by the men-of-war ; the smoke, rising from some huge piles of wood, told a very recent tale of demolition.

The scenery on both banks of the river appeared of a novel character : numerous small picturesque villages, with scarcely a soul visible. At intervals, a few fishermen with their canoes were observable ; but these vanished on the appearance of the *Feroze* and *Berenice*, with their transports, as if they really believed his Satanic Majesty was after them.

Had a splendid view of the Syriam pagoda in the distance—a grand and imposing pile ; as far as some of us could observe, like an irregular cone, elaborately gilt. Its elevated position makes it appear

* Turband.

of enormous height. The country about is very irregular; no hills of any size, but continual elevations of ground, thickly studded with trees, resembling portions of Southern India.

About 5 P. M. we anchored a mile or two from the *Serpent*, which useful craft had preceded us, as a skilful pioneer. There the wily one now lay at her position, the name impressing you with the idea that she brooded over mischief to be accomplished. The *Feroze* lay a short way before us, majestic in her strength. Here we had been ordered to rest until the arrival of the remainder of the fleet. From sunset till a late hour, many an eye was turned towards Rangoon and the celebrated Shoé Dagoon Pagoda. SHOÉ signifies GOLDEN; and everything is either yellow or gilt in this part of the world.

April 10th.—Mr. C. M. Crisp, merchant at Rangoon and Moulmein, less than a month ago wrote to the Government of India regarding the strong position we were now about to attack. Four months since, on the upper terrace of the great pagoda at Rangoon, he counted eight pieces of cannon at each of the three principal entrances to the same terrace, viz., at the south, west, and east; at the north entrance only one cannon was placed, making in all about twenty-five pieces, three of which were eighteen-pounders, the rest may have been from six to twelve-pounders. Had heard that a number of

swivel-guns were kept in readiness at the pagoda ; but never saw any. Along the south front of the Temple, at the lower part, a wall had been built by order of the late king, with embrasures for cannon ; this being the principal entrance, the Burmese authorities had taken great trouble to defend it. The north side is the weakest point. On the west side, a range of go-downs for grain had been built. The *bund* (rude rampart) enclosing the new town, is very similar to the one round the cantonment at Moulmein, about fifteen feet high, and twelve feet broad at the top ; twenty feet from the *bund* a ditch ran all round, about twenty feet wide, and from six to twelve feet deep. Government-house, in the new town, was in a state of defence. Mr. Crisp counted twelve pieces of cannon in the compound,* also two twenty-four pounders. Some guns were also at the custom-house and wharf ; altogether, he considered there might be forty pieces of ordnance at Rangoon.

This forenoon was one of great excitement among the majority on board. People doing things in place and out of place ; some looking at plans, and examining swords and pistols. The deck presented a scene of extraordinary animation : many a feature seemed to be lighted up with the fire of hope, and the sick and the dying victims of that dire pestilence, cholera, momentarily revived at the prospect of a contest.

* Ground surrounding or in front of the mansion.

Contrary to our expectations, the head-quarters, with the remainder of the Fleet, did not arrive so early as we expected; but all were present at dawn of the next day, which was Easter Sunday.

CHAPTER V.

NAVAL OPERATIONS BEFORE RANGOON AND DALLA.

THE noble and humane forbearance of the Indian Government towards the Burmese has been mentioned in the second chapter of this narrative. But more still may be advanced, before recording further operations. The Governor-General had written a final letter to the King of Ava, through the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, to be presented for despatch to the Governor of Martaban. Colonel Bogle, at the time of presenting the letter, informed the Burmese functionary, "that the English were sincerely desirous of peace, but that, if a reply were not received from Ava by the 1st of April, fully agreeing to the terms proposed by the Governor-General, our forces would inevitably invade the country; and that the guilt of having provoked the war would rest with them." The Burmese officers around are said to have replied, that, if we were prepared for war, so were they!

General Godwin, on his arrival at the Rangoon river from Calcutta, immediately sent Captain Lat-ter, the interpreter, in the *Proserpine* to Rangoon, with a flag of truce, to inquire if any reply had been received from the Court of Ava to the Governor-General's letter. On reaching the stock-ades, which guarded both banks of the river, the steamer was fired on. The cool courage of Com-mander Brooking was admirable on this trying occa-sion. He not only extricated the *Proserpine* from danger, but blew up a magazine on shore, which in-flicted a severe loss on the enemy. The meaning of a flag of truce had been explained to them some weeks before by Commodore Lambert; so that no pretext for not understanding it would hold for one instant. Their firing on the flag was a sure indica-tion that the Burmese authorities wished for war; that they would have it at any price: they were now about to have it with a vengeance!"

Sunday, April 11th.—It had been understood among us that no operations would take place before Monday. The fulfilment of this resolution, however, depended upon circumstances. These fortunately tended to expedite matters, as there was no time to be lost.

Yesterday evening, the *Phlegethon* reconnoitred the enemy's works on the river in a cool and intrepid manner. This morning, about nine o'clock, the *Berenice*, with the several war-steamers and vessels,

changed position. Our place was very near the *Serpent*. The steam-frigates were to our right, and in front, the smaller steamers filling up the picture—which was one of imposing grandeur. Firing had already proceeded from the direction of Rangoon; it struck us that the Burmese were simply at morning practice, in expectation of a coming struggle. The General and Admiral now steamed off to look at the defences, which had been represented of so formidable a nature. We fully expected to see a shot fired at the splendid *Rattler*, and the other steamers, as they seemed to approach the works. The Burmese, however, reserved their ammunition. They either supposed that we should refrain from attacking them on the Sabbath, or deemed it superfluous to employ their artillery until our whole force should be arrayed in presence of their fortifications. We watched for some time for the first symptom of resistance, and watched in vain.

We beheld the *Feroze*, under Commodore Lynch, moving on, evidently to take up position opposite the stockades. With the animated crowd of soldiers on her decks, she was a grand picture in motion—a “political persuader,” with fearful instruments of speech, in an age of progress! Next came the *Sesostris*. At length, the Burmese, unable to stand this gradual augmentation of the steam-warriors in front of their position, fired at the frigates, and the operations began. The *Moozuffer*, *Feroze*, and *Se-*

sostris,* also the *Medusa* and *Phlegethon*—the two latter, from their drawing little water, approaching nearer and nearer the coast—came severally into action. The fire from the vessels, Queen's and Company's, was kept up with terrific effect against Dalla, on our left, and the Rangoon defences on our right. At first, the enemy returned the fire with considerable dexterity and precision; but, shortly after the *Fox* had come up, and poured in her broadside, and the *Serpent* had moved on to destroy, by about eleven o'clock the firing on our right almost ceased. However, the war-steamers kept on, thundering forth against the works on both sides of the river; utterly destroying the stockades on the shore at Rangoon, and cannonading Dalla with decided effect. The large stockade, south-west of the Shoé Dagoon, was set on fire by a well-directed shell, which caused the explosion of a powder-magazine; and, then, all the work soon became filled with black smoke and vivid flame—up, up to the bright skies ascending, till the scene became one of extreme beauty and awful grandeur! At this crisis, an occasional gun was heard from the shore. Two or three pieces were still observable in the burning stockade; and, as no Burmese were visible, some conjectured it to be the flame firing them off without orders.

While the ruined defences on the Rangoon side

* The *Moozuffer*, under Captain Hewitt; the *Sesostris*, under Captain Campbell.

were burning, the town of Dalla, or Dalla Creek, became the chief point of attack. A determined force had evidently taken up a position in this quarter. Several of our shot and shells struck the principal pagoda of the place; but, beyond knocking a piece out here and there, with little effect. The stockade at Dalla having been silenced, a party of seamen and marines, in four boats, effected a landing, and took the place by storm. But something must be said about this exciting scene. Every one on board the fleet had his telescope with him, ready to observe with interest the proceedings of the attacking party. When the boats emptied their loads on the bank, a loud cheer sprung from several vessels in the river. The party now rushed boldly forward to the stockade: some coolly inspected it all round; some, we could behold, trying to scramble over it; at length, they entered it with little opposition, its chief defenders having fled in every direction to escape the terrible fire of our guns. One unfortunate Burmese soldier, on the approach of the naval party, jumped into the water, and swam bravely; a few more followed his example, as if resolved on becoming targets for practice. The works were soon all fired by the destructive exertions of the soldiers and marines. About 2 P.M., the stockade and a portion of the town were wrapped in one mighty blaze. The quiet landscape on each side of the river became disturbed with the fierce

and raging element. The enemy had played upon us with guns of considerable size—some of them twelve and eighteen-pounders—and, occasionally, these were remarkably well laid. The shot flew over the decks of the war-steamers; on board one, the *Sesostris*, a young officer of H. M.'s 51st,* was mortally wounded. Several shots struck the vessels: the *Moozuffer* was maimed a little, and the *Feroze* had part of her rigging shot away. According to some, "the fire of the enemy proved fatal to many on board the shipping;" but our casualties were by no means numerous on this day.

These highly successful operations by both the Queen's and the Honourable Company's navy—the chief work, doubtless, of the 11th having fallen to the latter—cleared the coast for nearly a mile, and made a splendid landing-place for the troops, who were now eager to commence land operations on the following morning. The navy had acted as a pioneer of true civilization.

Just a quarter of a century had passed away since Lord Amherst, on the conclusion of the first Burmese war, proceeded to the western provinces of India, and visited Delhi. He there told the King that all vassalage for the British Indian possessions, which till then had been acknowledged, was at an end. Thus, about seventy years after the battle of Plassey, we fairly established ourselves—

* Ensign Armstrong.

and the reward was not too great for so much labour and enterprise—sole possessors, in every respect, of what Macaulay styles, “the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.”* For anything we know now, the landing of the troops about to take place in Burmah might be the foundation of a new empire, which one day may teem with Anglo-Saxon industry, and do honour to those who had secured the golden inheritance of the descendants of Alompra!

* Essay on Lord Clive.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LANDING AND ADVANCE—THE WHITE HOUSE
STOCKADE.

Monday, April 12th.—There was little sleep last night among many of us; the excitement attendant on preparation for WORK had kept away its refreshing influence. About half-past three this morning, the decks of the several steamers and vessels were crowded with living creatures, all eagerly sharing the bustle which invariably precedes the landing of troops in an enemy's country. Some of the boats for conveyance on shore did not arrive until the morning had considerably advanced, and then we beheld Surya ascending in full splendour, as if seeking a vantage point whence to view the coming fray. The river before Rangoon presented an animated scene, the like of which had not relieved its monotonous aspect for eight-and-twenty years. Boats rowing to and fro, steamers changing position; the detachments already landed drawn out in martial array;

here, the boats of the *Hermes*, with two nine pounders, brought to join their companions two 24-pounder howitzers, from the *Lahore*; there, the men shouting and working, assisted by the gallant tars, as they took each gun from the boat, and set it in readiness for the carriage mounted to receive it. The troops landed under a well-sustained fire from the steamers. The right column consisted of H. M.'s 51st, the 18th Royal Irish, the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, and the Sappers and Miners.* The Artillery formed in rear of the Brigade. Next landed, as soon as boats were available, the wing of H. M.'s 80th, and the 35th and 9th Madras Native Infantry.† The latter regiment had served in the first Burmese war. The order for position appointed by the General was quarter-distance column, right in front. The ludicrous features of the landing scene may be described as follows:—Guns and carriages dismounted, wheels lying here and there, boxes of medicine, boxes of shot, rations of beef, powder, arrack, and ladders, all in one confused mass, while

* The 18th Royal Irish were on the right; the 51st K. O. L. I. on the left; and the 40th B. N. I. in the centre. The Sappers and Miners were drawn up with their ladders in rear of the left flank. The troops were ordered to carry sixty rounds of ammunition in their pouches, and all to have one day's full rations, ready cooked, with them.

† The wing of H. M.'s 80th in the centre; the 9th M. N. I. on the right; and the 35th M. N. I. on the left.

the troops moved in the midst of them to form into position.

In contrast to these lively and exciting doings, the following melancholy accident may be related :— On one occasion, just as Major Montgomery was employed, with other officers, in mounting guns, as the third detachment of Artillery, some European soldiers and a sepoy had recklessly approached the smoking ashes of a ruined stockade, quantities of loose powder had been left about by the Burmese on the previous day ; a portion of this exploded, burning the poor fellows in the most dreadful manner. Some now thought that the ground we stood on was well mined ; a few probably expected to be in the air shortly, especially the sepoys ; but all was soon lost in some new cause of excitement. At intervals, the ships' guns roared forth destruction on the town.

On, on to the Shoé Dagoon was soon the grand animating thought of every officer and soldier. The General had advanced with the first division that landed. His wise plan was to take the circuitous route and attack on the eastern side. The old road from the river led up to the southern gate of the pagoda, through the new town, by which route it was generally believed the enemy expected us. But events of considerable importance were to take place before we got near any gate of Gaudama's splendid Temple. Colonel Foord, Commandant of Artillery,

with Major Turton, and Brigade-Major Scott, and four Bengal guns under Major Reid, were with the General in advance, the guns covered by four Companies of the 51st Light Infantry. They had not proceeded far, however, when, "on opening some rising ground to the right," they were fired on by the enemy's guns, and immediately afterwards Burmese skirmishers appeared in the jungle. On this audacity, General Godwin, who served in the first Burmese campaign, afterwards remarked in his despatch, that it was a new mode of fighting with the Burmese, "no instance having occurred last war of their attacking our flanks, or leaving their stockades, that I remember to have taken place." They had profited by time, and, perhaps, by European instruction.

The enemy's Artillery fire proceeded from a position which was styled the White House Stockade. It was a very strong defence, as will be seen hereafter, and well situated to annoy our advance. Lieut. Ford, of the Madras Sappers and Miners, had constructed three temporary bridges in a very short space of time, which would greatly facilitate the progress of more guns required to assist Major Reid's battery, which was now in full play against the stockade, at a range of about 800 yards. "I am sorry to say, sir," remarked an officer to the General, "that unless Major Oakes soon comes up, we shall not be able to go on. I have but two

rounds a gun left." The accuracy of the enemy's range was shown by two of the Bengal gunners receiving mortal wounds at their guns, from two successive shots. At this critical time, Major Oakes fortunately came up with two 24-pounder howitzers, leaving the remaining portion of his battery in the rear. Colonel Foord told him to open with spherical case at a range of 800 yards. The gallant Major, with his usual alacrity, drew up in line with the Bengal battery, and opened an effective fire on the outwork, which he continued until the whole of his ammunition was expended. The Bengal guns had for some time withdrawn from the line of action, until more ammunition should arrive. The heat of the sun was now terrific; it gave Major Oakes his death-blow just as he was about to fire the last gun.

Shortly before the Artillery ceased firing, a storming party was formed from H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. Infantry, and the Sappers and Miners. It consisted of four Companies of Europeans, Major Fraser, the chief Engineer, with the Sappers under Captain Rundall. The third division of ladders was in the rear under the officer before alluded to, as constructing and repairing wooden bridges for the passage of the Artillery. After the work was finished, he had orders to rejoin the leading division. While passing on for that purpose, a heavy flanking fire from the left was opened in his

detachment. This not being returned, the enemy became bolder and the fire hotter, so much so, that the men were obliged to ground their ladders, unslung carbines, and open a fire on the Burmese skirmishers. This silenced them for a while, and resuming their ladders, the men marched on with all speed. From the continual firing in front, it was evident that severe work was going on at the stockade. The party moved on with their heavy ladders, and passing through a thick wood, which screened the place, the officer beheld Lieut. Donaldson, of the Bengal Engineers, passing by mortally wounded, his pale face lighted up with a smile of triumph, although suffering extreme agony. On reaching the White House Stockade,* there were to be seen the ladders reared against it, and troops crowding up them. Four ladders† went at the place in two divisions.

Closely following the gallant Major Fraser in the assault, came Captain Rundall, who mounted the ladders about the same time as his superior. The storming party immediately carried the stockade; but not without considerable loss on our side. The brave Captain Blundell, who commanded the leading Company of the party, was shot down, and afterwards died of his wounds. In him the gallant 51st lost

* For Supplementary Narrative of, See Appendix No. V.

† Or more, as four were reared, a fifth broke; but four were enough.

an excellent officer—one who had nobly done his duty. The Companies of Sappers suffered severely, and their bravery was everywhere conspicuous. Three of them alone reared a ladder, four more having been shot down beside it. Lieutenant Trevor was here wounded, and Lieutenant Williams had a narrow escape of his life. The Burmese, on our carrying the stockade, fled precipitately; but many of these resolved to give us further trouble in the jungles. They left many dead about the place; amongst them was a warrior, clad in a red jacket, with the buttons of the 50th Regiment on the jacket.

It was not yet near noon, and the sun had made severe havoc among several members of our small army. Major Griffiths, Brigade Major of the Madras Division, was fatally struck on the field. Colonel Foord, Brigadier Warren, commanding the Bengal Division, and Colonel St. Maur, H. M.'s 51st K. O. L. I., were disabled by its overpowering effects. Many of the European soldiers suffered, and here and there were to be seen, on the ground for the advance, to the left of the White House Stockade, the medical officers and their subordinates administering relief by pouring cold water over the patients. The remaining portion of Major Oakes' battery—four 9-pounders—arrived from the shore shortly after that gallant officer was struck. Next came Major Montgomery's battery,* with the

* Two 24-pounder howitzers, and two 9-pounders.

D Company 3rd Battalion of the Madras Artillery, which had done good service in China. Major Back, commanding, with Lieutenant and Adjutant Harrison, accompanied this division of the corps. Captain Cooke with the D Company 2nd Battalion, had already made some excellent practice with his rockets, while, and after the Artillery fired on the stockade, clearing the jungles on the left, and thereby saving us for some time considerable trouble and annoyance.

Among the wounded in the early operations, may be mentioned Captain Allan, Quarter-Master General to the Force, and Colonel Bogle, Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces. The former was shot in the calf of the leg, and the latter in the knee.

Reposing in a shady spot, a small number of officers caught the attention of the passer-by. Two of them, it seemed highly probable, would recover from their misfortunes. But, on the face of Major Oakes, death had set his seal. Several were around him rendering every possible assistance, while the tear of sorrow fell from even those who liked him not too well.

The Artillery were now commanded not to advance till further orders, and after a good deal of sharp skirmishing, as the day drew to a close, a general cessation of operations took place. All now began to prepare for a night's bivouac on the

field. In the evening it was whispered among us, that our Director of the Dépôt was dead! that he who, since being appointed to command a Service Company, had shown an amount of zeal for the high efficiency of that Company, seldom, if ever, surpassed—who, a few hours before, had rejoiced in a triumphant might—was now ranked among the fallen. He had been taken into the general hospital, on the beach, where he died. The gallant deceased was in the forty-third year of his age. In person, Major Oakes rose above the ordinary stature Six feet one inch, in height, with a chest of uncommon breadth, a striking military deportment, and a countenance betraying a restless ambition, wherever he went he could not escape observation. *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*, might be read in his pale, hard features. He had entered the Madras Artillery under the old *régime*, upwards of a quarter of a century ago, about the time when our first war with Burmah formed a subject of general interest throughout the British dominions. Towards the end of the year 1827, Majors Oakes and Montgomery were riding-masters to the Horse Brigade. The former revisited Europe in 1829 on account of ill-health. On his return to India, he was for ten or twelve years Adjutant of the Horse Artillery, was next appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of Artillery, and eventually Director of the Artillery Dépôt of Instruction at St. Thomas's Mount. Thus, in his profession,

did he climb a considerable distance up "the steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar!" He was great in all matters of drill, and was conspicuous as the man who gave the regiment an entire system of manœuvres. His publications on that subject were recently acknowledged by the Honourable Court of Directors, who rewarded him for his services.*

Major Oakes was not, in the ordinary sense, a man of genius; the creative faculty was in him but slightly developed. But he was gifted with great energy, and was remarkable for his untiring industry. Well-directed labour, steadily continued, is a rare virtue in India, where climate and the absence of any powerful motive for exertion, induce languid habits. He, therefore, who shakes off the lethargy, and toils assiduously, may, without a

* *Fort St. George*, 18th March, 1851.—Extract from letter from Hon. Court of Directors. Milit. Dépôt, dated 20th Jan. 1851; published for the information of the army. *Para. 1.*—Captain Oakes having completed nine works, all of which have been introduced by authority into the Madras army, and are considered to complete the code of regulations and instructions for the Artillery of the Madras Presidency. The Commander-in-Chief has observed that the compilation of these works cannot have been accomplished without considerable expense on Capt. Oakes' part, and has recommended him for such a token of our approbation and reward as we may see fit to grant. As a mark of our approbation of Capt. Oakes' services, in preparing these works for publication, we have resolved to present him with 2,000 rupees.—See Appendix No. 4.

glimmering of genius, acquire a pre-eminence even over those of his fellow-men who may be more highly endowed by Nature. In this way may we account for the position Major Oakes wrought for himself. Through his efforts the Madras Artillery was presented with several very useful works, and he will long be remembered and mourned by the profession at large as one of its most useful members.

After the White House Stockade was taken, and picquets had been placed in front, a good opportunity was presented for examining the work. A vast quantity of ammunition was found in the place. The grape was of the usual barbarous description, common among some of the hill-tribes of India: badly shaped iron bullets or bits of iron, closely packed in a canvass bag, dipped in dammer. Into a well outside, all the ammunition that could be found was thrown. The work, for a Burmese one, was very strong, and they had evidently taken much trouble in its construction. In the last war the "White House" was surrounded by a brick wall, which this time they again surrounded with a stockade, at a distance of about ten feet, filling the interval with rammed earth. This formed a good parapet, to which they gave a reverse slope, so as to get up and mount their guns on it. Some excellent guns were found of iron and brass; two of the latter kind were deemed handsome enough afterwards to be

sent to Calcutta. The work had on its front face an insignificant ditch. In the centre of the little fort was the "White House," from which the place took its name. It was approached at one end only by a steep flight of steps, and within, at the further end, was placed a colossal figure of Gaudama. A great deal of ammunition was found scattered about this central building. After the place was burned by the Engineers and Sappers, the same night the entire roof of the house was destroyed, and the huge figure seen from a distance, overtopping the shell of the ruined mansion, had an extraordinary effect. All the outside wood-work of the place was also destroyed by fire, so that the parapet became exposed; consequently, had the enemy attempted to retake the stockade, we could have swept them from the face of the earth, or say, the top of it, in various ways. A Burmese warrior, who had been severely wounded, must have acquired some idea of British kindness towards an enemy, when a high officer patted him on the back, to reassure him of our protection, while others gave him water, and he was allowed with his wife and relations, who had sought him out, to leave the stockade and go peacefully away.

The "White House Picquet"—so called in the last war—was well situated for an out-post. The enemy knew every inch of the ground we should necessarily pass over to get at them; and it is

highly probable they had practised for some time with ranges to bear upon certain points, which may account for their accuracy of fire in the morning. The fort being situated on slightly rising ground, a picturesque view inland was afforded: at about a mile and a half distant, was a small village, somewhat concealed by wooden ruins, to which considerable numbers of the enemy retreated.

Allusion has already been made to the Burmese skirmishers. It was amusing enough to see them cheviéd through the bushes, across the plain, where the Artillery were drawn up, by the European soldiers. Crack! crack! crack!—away they ran, as fast as their heels could carry them! But the retreat of many was only temporary. Towards dusk, they showed themselves in front of our camp; but a few rounds of canister quickly drove them back into their jungles. An officer who kept a journal writes, on this eventful 12th of April, “There can be no doubt that Europeans are in the service of His Golden-footed Majesty. A European Portuguese was taken prisoner; and I am told he is now on board the Admiral’s vessel. Conductor H——, of the Sappers, picked up, in one of the stockades, the first volume of a work on anatomy, and another on steam-navigation, both in English; and I heard him say, that there were plates, tumblers, and wine-glasses there.” The same amusing chronicler likewise consigns our worthy Brigade-Major to im-

mortal fame in the following passage:—"A report is afloat, that Captain Scott, of the Madras Artillery, recognized a renegade of that corps, named Govin, in the ranks of the enemy, clad in Burmese uniform, and immediately shot him dead. This man is reported to have been an able artillery-man, and had got up light field-trains, drawn by Pegu ponies. It is strange, that the moment he was laid low, the Burmese Artillery fell into confusion, and our men took the stockade from which the enemy were dealing out death on every side."

No man seemed to bear the fatigues of the day better than the gallant General; he was busy everywhere, animating the troops by his presence. He came forward, and expressed his sorrow to Colonel Foord—who had slightly recovered—for the accident which had befallen him. About this time, he said, regarding the conduct of the Burmese that day, that they had acted boldly and well, beyond all expectation. At night, "the force bivouacked on the open plain, without tents or covering of any description, for officers or men. During the night, the enemy fired once on the camp with musketry, but did not otherwise molest us."* There may be more disagreeable things in life than sleeping beside a howitzer, on some straw, to escape as much dew as possible, after a hard day's work under a burning

* Major Back's Report to the Brigadier Commandant of Artillery.

sun; getting up at intervals for duty; and washing in the morning out of a gun-bucket.

The alarm, when the camp had gone to rest, led some to suppose that the White House Stockade was about being re-occupied; but it turned out to be only the flickering blaze from some smouldering timbers, which looked as if people were moving about with lights. Their conjectures were groundless. The White House Picquet, or what remained of it, was speedily becoming a blackened ruin, which it would take much trouble and time to the Burmese again to put in a proper state of defence.

The night of the 12th of April will long be remembered by many of the force. Towards the new town, and the great Shoé Dagoon, fire continued to spread through the darkness—observing which formed amusement for the weary who could not sleep. It proceeded from the steamers and men-of-war pouring their destructive fire into the town. Huge hollow shot and carcasses were continually projected, doing fearful execution. Sometimes the effect, from our camp, was terribly sublime. It seemed as if many a wrathful deity were, like Vishnu, hurling the fiery *discus* through the air!

CHAPTER VII.

THE GRAND ADVANCE ON THE SHOÉ DAGOON
PAGODA.

TUESDAY, the 13th of April, was a busy day in camp. * In addition to the Artillery already up, four eight-inch iron howitzers were required by the General for the grand advance on the great Pagoda. This was fixed for the morrow, when, many believed, from what had already been experienced, the enemy would make a desperate resistance. The whole of this day was employed in disembarking and taking into camp these noble pieces of ordnance. The Naval Brigade rendered us the most hearty assistance in this arduous task.

At one spot on the field might be seen a knot of artillerymen, under some zealous officer, cutting and fixing fusees; at another, the Infantry cleaning and examining their trusty percussion muskets and

* Situated about one mile from the beach, and, by the route we took two from the Pagoda.

bayonets, the best Infantry WEAPON after all; at another, a cluster of talkers, very eloquent some of them, discussing the operations of the previous day; the sun, apparently, being quite disregarded in the zeal of a wordy contest. In the shade—and a good deal was afforded by the surrounding jungles—the thermometer stood considerably above one hundred degrees.

The King of Ava, no doubt, all this time, believed that, through the re-agency of such troops as those composing “Shway-Pee Hman-Geen,” or the Mirror of the Golden Country—a body of Royal Guards—and other bodies equally well gilt, the English would soon be driven into the river; and that then the Tenasserim Provinces would be taken from us, and even Calcutta might become submissive to the Golden Feet! “On the night of the 13th,” writes an intelligent Armenian,* one of the oppressed, “orders came to send us up to the great Pagoda. We were accordingly conveyed thither in files of ten men, three Armenians and seven Mussulmen. Rockets and shells † poured down on every side. Our escape must solely be ascribed to the mercy of Providence. To have escaped from the shells, some of which burst near us—from the Governor’s hand, and the hands of the Burmese sol-

* *Englishman*, June 7th.—A plain but authentic account, tending to assist in the composition of a history.

† From the shipping.

diery, that had already commenced pillaging the new town—must be set down as a miracle. However, two files of our comrades had scarcely gone, when the guard placed over us thought it prudent to save themselves from the impending danger by flight: yet their chief stood with his drawn sword. We shekoed,* prayed, and conjured him to save his life and ours. In my long experience of the Burmese generally, I have never found them wantonly cruel in nature. It is the system of the insane Government of Ava that produces monsters. So the man released us, and, with good grace, after seeing us depart, departed himself also. We at first returned to our abodes, but found them uninhabitable. A portion of the houses in the new town were in a blaze from the rockets. We then thought of our safety: some tried to escape to the river-side—they fell among the Burmese soldiery, were maltreated, stripped even of their upper garments, and obliged to return, and hide themselves under a Kioun;† others took shelter under the foot of the great Pagoda, and a few disguised got safely out of the town through the kind assistance of their Burmah friends. This night was a night of flight.”

We have been informed that, shortly before the fleet arrived, the Governor called a sort of Cabinet Council together, to deliberate over the probability

* *Salaamed*, or made salutation.

† *Poongee*, or priest-house.

of beating back the English. An old and respected inhabitant of Rangoon, who remembered the last war, and many years before it, was called on to give his opinion. The old man was afraid to speak out what he thought would be the result; but being pressed to do so, *as there was no fear he would suffer for telling the truth*, he declared that the British, on account of their superior skill and discipline, would certainly be victorious. "With them," said he, "one mind guides all; with the Burmese, each guides himself in the fight; what if we have fifty to one, the Europeans will conquer!" The fine old fellow was immediately ordered to be branded, and otherwise tortured, for his candour.

An idea of the strength of new Rangoon may be gathered from the fact that the new town, already mentioned, upwards of a mile from the river, was described as "nearly a square, with a bund, or mud wall, about sixteen feet high and eight broad; a ditch runs along each side of the square, and on the north side, where the Pagoda stands, it has been cleverly worked into the defences, to which it forms a sort of citadel."

Wednesday morning beheld the force moving on. The troops were certainly in the finest temper for dealing with the enemy. The halt of yesterday had refreshed them considerably, notwithstanding the intense heat; and recollection of the 12th prompted them to double exertion, if such were possible, to-

day. [The author was with the D Company, 3rd Battalion of Artillery, in reserve.]

H. M.'s 80th Regiment, with four guns of Major Montgomery's battery, * formed the advance, covered by skirmishers. About seven o'clock, the sound of musketry fell upon the ear. It seemed to those composing the reserved force in rear to proceed from the dark jungles, through which our march lay. The troops in our front had come into action; and the enemy were being driven before the fire of the European and Native Infantry. But this was not effected without some loss, as several *doolies*, † with their wounded, which passed by us, clearly testified.

The sound of artillery, from a Madras battery, likewise told that the guns were in position.

Major Montgomery, having brought one nine-pounder, and a 24-pounder howitzer into a favourable position, had opened fire at a distance of about 700 yards from the stockade. Passing on through the jungly way, we at length came within range of the enemy's jingals, which appeared to fire at us from beside a small pagoda. A succession of well-directed shots were now launched against the reserved force, in rear of which the heavy eight-inch howitzers were being nobly brought along by the

* The A Company, 4th Battalion, so recently commanded by his friend, Major Oakes.

† Rudely constructed palankeens, for carrying sick and wounded.

gallant Naval Brigade. Our guns inclined to the right, and halted to make way for the coming young giants of ordnance—all the while, the fire proceeding from the enemy near the small pagoda by no means abating.

Again we marched on, and came upon a large body of our troops, the Europeans, with fixed bayonets, as if ready for an attack as soon as a breach could be made. The 40th Bengal Native Infantry were likewise in this position, a petty *midan*,* sheltered by a small hill covered with jungle. Shot from the Burmese guns, as well as jingals, fell fast and thick upon the plain. The troops wisely remained under cover of the hill, passing an occasional remark on the correct range the enemy had attained, as shot after shot bounded along only a few yards before us; and then would come a jingal, with its strange whistling sound, over your head, making a man thankful he was not quite so tall as men are represented in ancient writ. In spite of all philosophy, such music must sound very strange to all ears, for the first time! At length, the greater portion of the Infantry moved on.

The D Company's 3rd Battalion Battery, † under Captain Cooke, was ordered to remain in the old

* Plain.

† Madras Artillery. With this battery, Lieut. Bridge remained. Lieut. Onslow was occupied at the beach in landing stores and ammunition.

position till required. Certainly, it is galling to be under fire, without any order to advance; and such was our case for about four hours. It was amusing enough to observe the cattle attached to the guns, while the shot continued to fly about. Strange to say, not one bullock of the reserve battery was struck, nor did they seem to be at all affected by the firing of the determined enemy!

The Burmese soon got the range more exact than ever. Probably guessing that some of the troops were under cover of the small hill, they gave less elevation, when their shot fell very near us, and the jingals continued to whistle with fearful rapidity. An intelligent Bengal officer, who had been engaged in several of the great Punjaub battles, declared to us that he had not, on those occasions, "bobbed" his head as much as he had done to-day. At length, the range of one of the enemy's guns entirely differed from the previous practice; which led us to believe that the devoted warrior, who had shown so much skill, was no more.

Major Montgomery's battery had, no doubt, done considerable execution.* It may have laid the afore-

* After firing a few rounds, Major Montgomery left those pieces—the 9-pounder, and 24-pounder howitzer—under the charge of 2nd Lieut. Lloyd, who kept up a well-directed and spirited fire from them, during the whole time the action lasted. Major Montgomery then placed the other ~~three~~ 9-pounders of his battery in another position, about a quarter

said warrior low. The gallant Major himself came past us while the jingals were flying, his Lascar orderly following him. A spent ball struck the unfortunate orderly in the forehead, when he immediately fell, but not dead, as at first supposed.

About this time, our Assistant-Surgeon, Dr. Smith, was slightly wounded. A tar of the Naval Brigade we also saw struck while giving assistance in bringing along a heavy gun ; and several others, European and native, were wounded near the spot we occupied. The 9th M. N. I. had gallantly driven back a body of Burmese skirmishers in our rear.

At about 10 A.M., the heavy howitzer battery, under Major Back, manned by the Bengal Artillery, was, after great labour, brought into position. * We were delighted to hear the howitzers sounding forth in the advance, as they opened fire against the great stockade. This continued about one hour and a half, under a very galling and well-directed fire from the

of a mile to the right of the first one. Lieut. Tayler, and 2nd Lieut. Blair, had each of them charge of a piece in this position, which they served with precision and effect.

* But for the valuable assistance of Lieut. Dorville, of H. M.'s ship *Rattler*, with a party of 120 seamen, we could scarcely have got the heavy howitzers into position, and to them also we are chiefly indebted for disembarking them on the previous day.—Major Back's Report. The two howitzers on the right were under the charge of Capt. Malloch, of the Bengal Artillery.

enemy's guns and wall-pieces, from which our troops suffered considerably. The artillery operations of the Wednesday were under the direction of Major Turton, of the Bengal Army, whose accustomed zeal was fully displayed throughout. Colonel Foord had not recovered from the *coup de soleil* in time to proceed with the force; nothing could have disappointed him more.

It may be mentioned that, just before the heavy guns were dragged into position, Major Turton told Lieutenant Ashe, of the Bengal Artillery, to take his gun, a 24-pounder howitzer, to the left of the heavy battery, to dislodge some Burmese skirmishers from the bushes in front. This was the only Bengal light field-gun engaged that day; and it was highly necessary, as those determined skirmishers were fast closing in on the crowded mass of our troops, who with great difficulty kept down their fire.

At about half-past eleven, Captain Latter, the Interpreter, proposed to the General an attack on the eastern entrance of the great Pagoda; for ten of our troops now being killed or disabled, we would lose but one with a storming-party; which would naturally draw off the enemy's attention, and excite their surprise. This sensible advice was by no means disregarded.

Eventually, Captain Latter asked General Godwin's permission to lead the storming-party. The gallant General replied, "With the greatest pleasure,

my dear friend!" This reply was quite characteristic of our brave and courteous Commander.

The storming-party was formed of the wing of H. M.'s 80th, under Major Lockhart, two Companies of the 18th Royal Irish, under Lieutenant Hewitt, and two Companies of the 40th Bengal Native Infantry, under Lieutenant White; the whole commanded by Colonel Coote, of the 18th Royal Irish, Captain Latter leading. From the elevated position—on which were our heavy guns—to the Pagoda is a sort of valley to be crossed before reaching the eastern entrance; the distance might be about eight hundred yards. The hill on which the great temple stands is divided into three terraces, each defended by a brick and mud rampart.* There are four flights of steps up the centre of each terrace, three of which are covered over; the east, south, and west. On went our gallant troops, crossing over to the Pagoda in the most steady manner, under a heavy and galling fire from the enemy on the walls. At length, they reached the desired gate, which was immediately pushed open. Captain Latter had beheld Lieutenant and Adjutant Doran, of H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish, rather in advance of his proper position: on being spoken to, we believe he said that his

* Their heavy guns were on the upper terrace; their light ones on the second and third. The rampart of the upper terrace, being mostly of bricks and mortar, is of a superior description.

regiment was in rear. Now, a grand rush was made up the long flight of steps they had discovered. The storming-party, however, suffered from the shower of balls and bullets which immediately came down upon them with dreadful effect ; but nothing could ever check the determined rush of British Infantry ! Near the foot of the steps fell Lieutenant Doran, mortally wounded ; and by his side fell also two men of his regiment. The young hero lay pierced by four balls. Colonel Coote was also wounded. But our troops nobly gained the upper terrace. A deafening cheer rent the air ! The Burmese defenders fled in all directions before the British bayonet. The Shoé Dagoon, or say, "Dagon the Great," had fallen for the second time into our hands ! The blow had been struck ; the first grand act of the drama was over !

"On the 14th," writes the Armenian, "there were but a few thousand Shwaydown and Padown men, say about five thousand in all, that kept to their post on the Pagoda, under the immediate command of the Governor. They held out until noon, when the Governor, in despair, gave orders to retreat, himself setting the example of flight. His men, distinguished by their gilt hats, remained to the last. They stood the first onset of the British, and then fled to the west ;" that is, towards Kemmeline. "Had there been a brigade of cavalry, or a division of troops, at the north-west, the Governor could not

have escaped. He had, a few days previously, despatched his plunder to his country Shwaydown, in charge of one of his trusty relatives. Thus dispersed the grand army of Rangoon, computed at about 20,000 strong at the beginning, some of whom did not even exchange a shot with the English, and many were driven away by the rockets and shells."

The reserved force moved on. A loud cheer from the advance made us long to get near the heavy guns. There was enough in that hearty cheer to tell that Rangoon was entirely in the British possession. Having proceeded a short distance, the battery halted in rather dense jungle. There, among other sights, we beheld three of the 40th B. N. I. lying dead on a bank—all three, including a bullock, having been struck down with a shot from one of the enemy's eighteen-pounders. Ascending a little, we found the four eight-inch guns in position ; * and a good view of the piece of country at the base of the Shoé Dagoon was presented, to all appearance, jungly and confined. We were now informed that the General and his Staff had entered the Pagoda.

* Lieut. and Adjt. Voyle, of the Bengal Artillery, in addition to commanding a howitzer, had cut and set many of the fuzes for these guns, which had now done their duty. Brigade Major Scott, Madras Artillery, was observed doing everything in his power to encourage the gunners, as they worked under a heavy fire. Lieut. and Adjt. Harrison, M. A., is likewise reported by Major Back as most active in pointing and commanding one of the eight-inch howitzers.

After our Europeans had refreshed themselves with a little tea—and nothing is more refreshing on the field—the Artillery* were ordered to proceed in a southerly direction, and take up quarters where they best could till the morrow. These were on the cold ground, as on the two previous nights. To get thither, we had a short march through the jungle, and while passing along, we frequently came across a Burmese soldier who lay dead, with a look of determination, and a smile of apparent contempt on his countenance. Curious enough, many of them had adopted a sort of red jacket as a portion of their costume; this had been frequently a source of confusion to our troops, who could with difficulty distinguish them from our own skirmishers. The *Burmese* muskets were old flint ones from England, “condemned,” the excuse for their being sold to our enemies, and with the dah or dhar—a sharp, square-pointed sword with a long wooden handle; and with other weapons, such as a British bayonet stuck on the handle of a spear, the Burmese Infantry equipments were found to be tolerably complete. It may be mentioned that the enemy’s musket-ball was found to be considerably smaller than ours, composed of iron as well as lead, not cast in a mould, but rough and varying in size.

Towards the south side of the pagoda we passed a

* Covered by the 40th B. N. I.

Pongee house in ruins. Gaudamas of huge size gazed upon the stranger with beneficent countenance, as if they were giving him a hearty welcome to the new land. A huge tree, lying across the road, was speedily cut asunder, to make way for the light field-guns; after a short period a portion of the heavy battery arrived. When the guns were all in position, preparations were made for the night's bivouac. Beside our halting-place we found a fine tank and well. Many had never before enjoyed a bathe or a wash so much as they did upon this occasion. After a comfortable night's rest in the open air, in the morning we moved into a *Pongee*-house for breakfast.

Some necessary stores for hot weather campaigning had found their way to us through the faithful followers, who, since the capture of the Great Pagoda, had been streaming forth to the camp, some of them, during the early part of the day, having nearly fainted from fear, while performing their philanthropic duties, as the enemy's bullets flew about rather too near to be agreeable. Where we now were stood various ruins of the new town. The remainder of the force passed the night in the covered entrances and immediate vicinity of the pagoda. By the route we had come, it was expected there would be no very great difficulty in placing our guns on the ramparts for the defence of *Guadama's Temple*.

A few particulars regarding the occupation of Rangoon by the British, in the first Burmese war, may be interesting at this stage of our narrative.

The Court of Ava had never dreamed of the sudden blow about to be aimed against the southern provinces, and maritime commercial capital of the Burmese empire. At this time,* there was no actual Governor (*Myo-woon*) in Rangoon. A subordinate officer, styled *Rewoon*, exercised the chief authority in the town.

On receiving intelligence of the arrival of a large fleet of ships at the mouth of the Rangoon river—ships of unusual size and belonging to the British—“this unfortunate barbarian became almost beside himself with wonder, consternation, and rage.” His first order ran thus—“English ships have brought foreign soldiers to the mouth of the river. They are my prisoners; cut me some thousands of spans of rope to bind them.”

He next ordered the seizure of all the English residents in Rangoon. The order extending to all those “who wore the English hat,” American missionaries, American merchants, and other foreign adventurers, were confined in the same building with five British merchants, a ship-builder, and two pilots. They were immediately loaded with fetters, and otherwise cruelly treated.

At length the fleet came in sight of a “consider-

* May, 1824.

able Asiatic town." This seemed to be encircled by a rampart of solid timber from fifteen to twenty feet in height, pierced with embrasures. Boats of various sizes and shapes lay moored along the banks of the river; on these were constructed wharfs, jetties, and landing-places. Clumps of light green forest occupied the plains around.

They were everywhere decorated with the glided spires of pagodas. Above them all, on a height at some distance, was seen the grand monument, which had first attracted remark. But attention was now fixed by the defences of the town. A Burman stockade had been the theme of wonder and curiosity for weeks and months at either Presidency. It was to try its mettle against this redoubted species of work that the army had sailed. Hence, as each ship neared the town, the first glance towards the embrasures produced a murmur of deep interest amongst the troops. "There it is, at last; the stockade, the stockade of Rangoon."* The landing took place on the 11th of May, 1824.

The enemy heard the roar of that cannonade which covered the landing of the troops. The streets were swept with cannon-shot from the fleet. The Roon abandoned himself to his fears. "He mounted a horse, and hurried through the south-eastern gate into the country, followed in confused flight by the armed rabble he had collected." Terror reigned in

* Havelock's *Campaigns in Ava*, p. 26.

the town. "Burman, Peguer, Portuguese, Parsee, Moguls, and Chinese, male and female, young and old, followed by the rushing sound of eighteen and thirty-two pounder shot, fled like frightened deer to the neighbouring forests."* When the troops were fairly landed, several of the unhappy prisoners were released. The reason of four of them had given way. Major Sale, afterwards the hero of Jellalabad, found Mrs. Judson, of missionary celebrity, tied to a tree, and immediately released her.

The troops took possession of a town scarcely tenanted by a living being. With regard to the disposition of the troops in Rangoon during the first war, we read that the Brigade from Bengal had its right supported in the direction of the town, and its left on the great Temple. The troops from Madras rested their right on "Shooé-da-gong-praw," and their left on the town.† Their houses were wooden dwellings of the priests, convents or monasteries, the abodes of pilgrims, under the arched recesses of shrines, and in the square chambers of temples. All of these abounded in either road. The army in 1852 found little or no difference in this respect.

And now let us return to our second visit to Rangoon and the Shoé Dagoon Pagoda. With re-

* Page 33.

† Four miles were occupied by the force, with a continuous chain of sentries.

gard to the Burmese troops at first opposed to us, the "Armenian" of 1852 gives the following information:—These had commenced pouring down upon Rangoon from different towns and villages since the seizure of the King of Ava's ship, *Helen*, the golden apple, and a large army arrived from Amrupura itself. They were all in high spirits, and were employed in erecting the stockade round the mud wall or fort, which they finished in the short space of two months. "They even fortified the king's old wharf, the roof of which was constructed like a vat about two feet deep, and filled with water to extinguish the shells and rockets that might fall on it." But their magazine, in large jars, ranged in rows on each side, having, as before stated, caught fire on the 11th, blew this one of their seven wonders into the air, at the same time killing many men on duty. Before the works had been completed, a portion of the Burmese army became dispirited by over-fatigue and disease. "Many determined not to fight the English, and they stuck to their determination. Shway-Pee Hman-Geen, or the Mirror of the Golden Country, a body of Royal Guards stationed at the south and west, were the first to set the example on the first day of the fight."

Some curious Burmese plans were discovered in a magazine by our excellent and talented Commissary of Ordnance, Captain Robertson, of the Bengal Artillery. Some square feet of a compressed black

substance, as usual in this country, took the place of cloth or drawing-paper, and the drawing was produced by means of a sort of hard chalk and a ruler. This we believe to be the common mode of planning in Burmah. One of the plans in question minutely exhibited the stockade, also gave in Burmese the strength of each detachment, with its designation, told off for its defence. The following is a translation of the writing, from which it would appear the Burmese think there is more in a name than we dream of in our philosophy :—

THE BURMESE GARRISON OF RANGOON.

	Men.
1. The Dennobhew City Contingent	500
2. The Golden Palm Royal Boat's crew	500
3. The Kanaung City Contingent	600
4. The Kyanghan „ „	250
5. The Padowng „ „	300
6. The Iharawatty „ „	430
7. The Mean Owng „ „	250
8. The Oakpho Fort „	150
9. The Kanaung City „	300
10. The Laing „ „	500
11. The Iharawatty Golden Flower Royal Boat's crew .	439
12. The Little Chempa „ . . .	122
13. The Ihavawa Golden Palm „ . . .	60
14. The Henthada City Contingent	267
15. The Great Hill Royal Boat's Crew	130
16. The Water Fowl „	119
17. The Golden Parrot „	65
18. The Rethay Braminy Goose „	76

19. The Great Cormorant Royal Boat's Crew	. . .	100
20. The Ragook Braminy Goose	„ . . .	51
21. The Great Cormorant	„ . . .	81
22. The Great Golden Mass	„ . . .	100
23. The Chief Cormorant	„ . . .	100
24. The Shoury Downg City	„ . . .	130
25. The Chief Golden Mass	„ . . .	60
26. The Blue Cloud	„ . . .	55
27. The Ihainethaga City Contingent	. . .	50
28. The Banyan Tree Township	„ . . .	100
29. The Dennobhew City	„ . . .	100
30. The Mean Oung City	„ . . .	250
31. The Oakpho Uneven Swamp	„ . . .	150
32. The Keng City	„ . . .	250
33. The Padowng City	„ . . .	200
White House Picquet and Village of Pewsendown		2,500
Total		9,335

Each man with two baskets of rice and a piece of silver.

Gates.	Gates.
1. North Gate.	8. Banyan Tree Gate.
2. Shoury Gyeen Gate.	9. Smith's Gate.*
3. Red Earth Gate.	10. Sacred Hair Gate.
4. Sacred Tray Gate.	11. Little Lake Gate.
5. Shoury Douny Gate	12. Twisted Umbrella Gate.
6. Tree Gate.	13. Stone Gate.
7. Tree Gate.	

The various numbers set down in this curious document, of course changed according to circumstances.

The enemy had, in the opinion of the General,

* South Gate.

“settled” that the British should attack the town by the old road from the river to the pagoda, leading to the south gate, and running through the town, “where they had made every preparation to receive us, having armed the defences with nearly a hundred pieces of cannon and other missiles, and with a garrison of at least ten thousand men. The attempt to assault on this side would, I am convinced, from the steady way the Burmese defend their works, have cost us half our force.”

Our casualties in the land force were at first reported to be nearly two hundred. They were afterwards set down at three officers killed in action, and two by *coup de soleil*. Out of fourteen officers wounded, one, Captain Blundell, died. The total number of killed was reckoned at seventeen, and wounded at one hundred and thirty-two. The casualties in the fleet were about seventeen, out of which one of the *Fox's* men was accidentally drowned, and another of the *Tenasserim* was “blown away from an after pivot gun.”

Our indefatigable chronicler of the 12th of April has the following *vivid* entry in his diary:—“14th, Wednesday.—Our troops attacked the enemy at the Dagoon pagoda; the contest was severe and bloody; several of our men were so badly wounded, that it was found necessary to amputate their limbs on the field of battle,”—this is quite correct. “The enemy fell in heaps, and we are in possession of Rangoon.”

Now for a mixture of truth and arrant absurdity. "A sham attack was made on one side on their stockade at the Dagoon pagoda, guarded by numerous guns of great power, and when we succeeded to draw their attention to the point, H. M.'s 51st, *the Artillery* (!), and others of the force, *rushed in upon them* from another side, and carried everything before them. The Burmese fought like furies; the poor fellows had no alternative: their wives and children being held in security by their king for the fulfilment of their duty as fighting men."

It is impossible to give a correct estimate of the number of the enemy who fell at the capture of the pagoda, or during the previous operations. Say, out of 18,000 who were at first prepared to meet us, and 20,000 is the number generally supposed, only two hundred bodies were discovered, it does not follow that only that number fell.

It is the Burmese custom on the field to carry away, if possible, the dead and wounded. This is considered a sacred duty, and it is performed with every alacrity. A bamboo is quickly passed through the cloth encircling the loins, and the dead man is carried off. Should he be only wounded, more care and ceremony are used to take the sufferer to some place of refuge. Our force consisted of European troops, 2,727, and Native, 3,040 = 5,767. According to one authority, the entire force engaged in this expedition consisted of 8,037 men of all arms; that

is, reckoning, in addition to the foregoing, for five Queen's ships,* 808; six steamers of the Indian Navy, 952; seven Bengal Government steamers, and one gun boat, 510. Some of these vessels, and a portion of the land force, did not come into action.

RETURN of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, at the attack and storming of Rangoon on the 11th, 12th, and 14th April, 1852.

Corps or Department.	Killed.	Wounded.
Personal Staff .....	....	One officer.
General Staff .....	....	One officer.
Madras Engineers ..	....	Three officers, one N. C. officer.
Madras Sappers	Three rank and file..	Two officers, one sergt., eight rank and file.
ARTILLERY.		
Bengal Contingent ..	One N. C. officer ..	Six N. C. officers.
Madras ditto ..	ditto	One N. C. officer, one Lascar, three Syce drivers.
INFANTRY.		
<i>1st or Bengal Brigade</i>		
H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish	One officer, one sergt., and two rank and file	Three officers, one N. C. officer, one trumpeter, thirty-seven rank and file.
H. M.'s 80th Foot (one wing)	One N. C. officer ..	One officer, three N. C. officers, one trumpeter, twenty-one rank and file.
40th Regt. N. I.	One trumpeter, three rank and file	Eleven rank and file.
<i>2nd or Madras Brig.</i>		
H. M.'s 51st Regt. of Foot	One officer, one rank and file	One officer, three N. C. officers, thirteen rank and file.
9th Regt. Mad. N. I.	One rank and file ..	One officer.
35th Regt. Mad. N. I.	....	One officer, one N. C. officer, five rank and file.

* Including three steamers. To the force were attached fourteen transports.

Corps or Department.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
European Officers	2	14	0
Native Officers	0	0	0
Warrant and Non-commissioned Officers, Rank and File, &c	15	114	0
Lascars, Syce drivers, Syces, &c.	0	4	0
Total.....	17	132	0
Grand Total of Killed, Wounded and Missing—149.			

(Signed) H. GODWIN, Lt.-Gen., *Commanding the Forces
in Ava, Arracan, and Tenasserim.*
W. MAYHEW, Captain, *Assist. Adjt. Gen. of the
Forces.*

OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

No. Killed.	No. Wounded.	Corps or Department.	Killed.	Wounded.
1	0	H. M. 18 R. I.	Lt. R. Doran, 14 April.	
1	0	H. M. 51st Foot	Ens. A. N. Armstrong, 11 Apr.	
0	1	Personal Staff.	....	Lt. W. J. Chads (slightly).
0	1	General Staff..	....	Capt. G. Allan (severely).
0	1	Eng. Depart..	....	2nd Lt. E. C. S. Williams, slightly).
0	1	ditto	....	2nd Lieut. L. Donaldson (mortally) 12 April.
0	1	ditto	....	2nd Lt. W. S. Trevor (severely).
0	1	Madras Sapp. and Miners	....	Capt. J. W. Rundall (slightly).
0	1	ditto	....	Lieut. B. Ford (slightly).
0	1	H. M. 18 R. I.	....	Lt.-Col. C. J. Coote (severely).
0	1	ditto	....	Capt. W. T. Bruce (slightly).
0	1	ditto	....	Lieut. G. H. Elliott (slightly).
0	1	H. M. 80 Foot	....	Lieut. J. L. W. Nunn (slightly).
0	1	H. M. 51st Foot	....	Capt. W. Blundell (dangerously).
0	1	9th Mad. N. I.	....	Ensign G. F. C. B. Hawkes (slightly).
0	1	35th ditto	....	Lieut. W. C. P. Haines (dangerously).
0	1	Commissioner Tenasserim Provinces ....	....	Lieut.-Col. A. Bogle (severely).

LIST of Ordnance Captured at the WHITE HOUSE STOCKADE, on
the 12th, and at Rangoon on the 14th April 1852.

Description of Ordnance.		No.	Remarks.
Iron Guns	3-pdrs... ..	2	{ Captured at the "White House" Stockade, on the 12th April, 1852.
Brass "	3 "	2	
Iron "	18 "	9	
" Carronades	18 "	3	
" "	12 "	2	
" Guns	9 "	6	{ The whole of these are mounted on carriages.
" "	6 "	3	
" Carronades	6 "	1	
" Guns	3 "	11	
" "	2½ "	7	
" "	2 "	2	
" "	1½ "	11	
Brass "	6 "	5	
" "	4 "	3	
" "	3 "	13	
" "	2½ "	3	
" "	1½ "	9	
Total....		92	
Iron Ginjals or Wall Pieces, on Wooden Carriages		82	

Shuay Dagoon Pagoda, } (Signed) H. S. FOORD, Lieut.-Col.
Rangoon, 15th April, 1852. } Commanding Art. Serving in Burmah.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORWARD—AMONG THE TEMPLES!

APRIL 15TH.—Early in the forenoon, the Artillery moved on to take up a temporary position. We soon arrived at the south-east entrance of the great stockade, which had evidently been constructed with wonderful skill by the enemy. The following is as good a description as any we have read of this formidable style of *uncivilized* fortifications:—

“Conceive a row of upright timbers extending for miles, as they do round the entire place, except in parts of the north and east sides, each timber fit to be the mainmast of a ship, these timbers three deep, and so close to each other that a walking-stick could not be passed between; behind these upright timbers is a row of horizontal ones, laid one above another; and behind all is a bank of earth twenty-four feet broad on the top, and forty-five feet at the base; the height of the top of the uprights, from the bottom of the ditch in which they are deeply planted, is generally fourteen feet. The upper part of the ditch, and that

nearest the stockade, is filled with a most formidable *abattis*,* in the shape of the pointed branches of trees, stuck firmly into the earth, and pointing outwards; beyond this is the deep part of the ditch, which, in the rains, is of course filled with water. The upright timbers are strengthened with connecting planks, the ends of which are inserted on their tops, the other end of the plank being similarly secured by strong wooden pins in the bank inside. They are of such enormous, massive thickness, that firing at the face of a stockade would be a throwing away of powder."

Inside, we observed that every preparation had been made to give us a warm reception, had we ventured this way in the first instance. Piles of shot were lying here and there; shoals of long cartridges, filled with very coarse powder, and many a grotesque species of ammunition, were scattered about in every direction. A gun or two also peeped forth peacefully upon us; and the position we were now going to take up was a peaceful one. Moving along with the guns, ample time was afforded to behold, with admiration, the temples which lined the road on each side. These temples appeared similar to those we had already seen—the distinguishing temple of this region—an irregular, solid cone, surmounted by an elegant top, over which is the *tee* (umbrella),

* *Chevaux de frise*, he terms it; but *abattis* is nearer the thing.

gracefully fringed with bells, which emit music at the bidding of Æolus. It may interest the reader to learn that Solomon, King of Israel, about one thousand years before the Christian era, had bells suspended about his temple, probably intended, "by the sound they produced on being agitated by the wind, to keep off the birds from the consecrated edifice." Like means are said to have been adopted on the Grecian temples. * Some of the numerous edifices we now beheld were evidently the work of an age long passed away; perhaps raised in honour of Gaudama, to celebrate successive victories gained by the Burmese over Chinese kings. We next came upon smaller shrines, with an open space in the centre, containing one or more Gaudamas; and had it not been for the desolation produced by war—had the spots around, where our guns had done dreadful havoc, been adorned with living beings, and bright, green foliage, and clear streams, the sweet song of cheerful birds gladdening the air the while—that "avenue" of temples would have caused the antiquary, or lover of picturesque beauty, to exclaim, "Within, without—all is enchantment!"

Eighteen or twenty images of Gaudama were found in one small temple; some of these were composed of pure alabaster, others were of brick, *chunamed*† over, and beautifully gilt.

* Bury's Architecture.

† A process to resemble marble.

Proceeding on our interesting march, we came to a magnificent descent of steps. On each side, a huge griffin, admirably carved, beside a small shrine ; then, leading along to the base of the steps, flanked by the superb design of a gigantic crocodile, with open jaws, as if ever ready to devour the ruthless invader of the sacred fane ! Having now moved along the summit of a chain of heights, commanding the plains to the eastward, we came round, after much trouble with the guns, and passed, on the second terrace, the north entrance to the Great Pagoda.

Not far beyond, the Artillery officers put up for the night in a respectable Burmese house. Its construction seemed admirably adapted to the climate. Stout posts are sunk into the earth ; the bamboo or wooden floor of the house is then laid some four or five feet above the level of the ground, which keeps off the damp of the soil in the monsoon. The walls are of plank, or of mat ; and the roof is a simple framework, covered by a thatching of palm-leaves, which, when properly managed, are always waterproof. [In one of these dwellings, the author of this narrative is now writing, * while the rain is descending in torrents.]

April 16th.—The Artillery moved to the upper

* 12th of July ; living with Lieut. Hitchins, of the Madras Artillery, who has resided some years in the Tenasserim Provinces. His father served as Adjutant-General during the 1st Burmese war.

terrace, or that round the base of the Great Pagoda. We had now a good opportunity of beholding the vastness of this Gaudama's "solemn temple." The canopied staircases, grotesque with red and gold, seemed not in keeping with the dignified grandeur of Shoé Dagoon and his associates. They served as excellent quarters for the European troops. The great temple, on its gorgeous summit being viewed through a telescope, suggests to the fancy some enchanted hill, on the top of which a band of fairies have found an abode, where they might for ever dwell, undisturbed, far away from the haunts of men. Waving golden leaves attached to tinkling bells, rich gold work, all so snugly protected by the golden *tee*, draw forth admiration. Carrying the eye downwards, the gilding becomes far less bright; the spectator is then astonished by immensity, as, gazing on the beautifully waving lines and rectangular stones, extending to a sort of enormous pedestal, on which the temple seems to stand, and huge monsters which look not of this world, and small windows set in golden array, he approaches the mighty base. From this to the summit measures three hundred and twenty-one feet; and yet, from its graceful proportions, it is difficult to believe the height so great.

Shoé Dagoon is encircled, at some distance, by smaller pagodas, all possessing more or less beauty. One, situated to the north-east of it, is larger than the others; its body, black with age, and the bright

golden summit, forming a striking contrast. But all sink into insignificance before the great fane, built in an age long passed away, in honour of the representative of a wonderful religion—Gaudama, an incarnation of Buddha,* whose followers are more numerous than those of any other creed among the whole human race! Viewing this stupendous edifice by moonlight, one might be led to feel that there must be some mysterious power in an intricate and symbolic worship, which could draw forth such general sympathy in the East—that the creed of Buddha is derived from pure materials; or, to repeat a speculation hazarded in a former work, Buddha, being invested with many attributes which belong only to the Messiah, was simply a less refined creation than that of the Redeemer, as set forth in the Old Testament.

The stranger, on beholding the Shoé Dagoon Pagoda, is apt to imagine that it is all built of some rare stone or granite, like the massive temples in Southern India, or the gigantic pyramids of Egypt. But, in reality, it is one vast cone of brickwork, ingeniously covered over, and to which age has given the appearance of stone. The winged monsters at the base, and other figures, some with comely faces, go far to strengthen this idea. About the temple, you may be forcibly reminded of a celebrated description in “Eöthen”; for you may there find a visage

* Simply meaning Wisdom.

gazing on — gazing on — with tranquil mien and pouting lips, like “the very Sphynx,” infinitely smaller, but still with a similar, sad, and solemn countenance.

CHAPTER IX.

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS.

APRIL 18TH.—To-day, many of the tents arrived from the beach; and by the evening, the Artillery had formed an encampment at the north of the upper terrace. Several of us, for the last two nights, had put up in a small poongee-house, near the north gate. The Gaudamas in it were of colossal size, and took up considerable room, which we could ill spare at such a time. The odour near this spot was insufferable; * and the rain, which fell at intervals, by no means added to our comfort. Under the rampart, in the Burmese house which the Artillery officers had abandoned, were quartered the Europeans of one Company of Artillery; another was farther to

* On account of *balachong* (Portuguese for dried salt fish), in Burmese, *ngapee*. A vast quantity of this food, with numerous huge baskets of rice, had been collected for a protracted siege.

the west, in a similar building. Troops were encamped here and there, as a matter of necessity, until a fixed position could be appointed. It took some time to dispel a loathsome impurity which tainted the air, produced chiefly by dead bodies of Burmese lying about, and remaining unobserved until some officer came across them, and ordered them to be removed. Cholera had broken out among the Europeans; and it was a melancholy thing yesterday to behold the solemn task of burial in a small nullah by the road-side—"no useless coffin" enclosing the remains—the comrades of the deceased smoothing down the "lonely pillow" with becoming decency and reverence; while so many, at the same time, were busy in clearing away, and preparing for a new life at Rangoon. Among the corpses of the Burmese, we beheld some who had once been foes, well-proportioned, and of considerable stature. There were one or two such, observable on the 16th, who had been shot down while on duty at their guns. Bad as the Rangoon Governor was, he does not appear to have had recourse, like the famous Bundoola, to the infernal device of chaining his soldiers to the guns, in order that they might never cease firing, till victory was achieved, or death had laid them low.

Numbers of curious *sawmies*, of brass, of clay covered with a thin coating of silver, wood, and alabaster, are being brought into camp by the men.

Gilt wooden cabinets and boxes, some of them very chaste, are likewise to be seen here and there.

The following gratifying general order has recently been put in circulation in the camp:—

“General Orders by Lieutenant-General H. GODWIN, C.B., Commanding the Forces, Ava, Arracan, and Tenasserim.

“Dated Rangoon, 19th April, 1852.

“1. The Lieutenant-General Commanding has been so much occupied in preparing his Report of the operations of this Force to the Supreme Government of India, * that he has not had time to thank the Troops of all Arms for their late gallant conduct, which has resulted in placing them in the triumphant position they now hold; and has carried out the entire wishes of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council in fitting out this expedition, and sending it to the Rangoon River.

“2. The capture of Martaban is to be considered as forming part of the operations completed at Rangoon.

“3. Lieutenant-General Godwin, C.B., now begs this little Army to accept his warmest and most grateful thanks for its noble gallantry on all occasions, and for all it has endured with such manly fortitude, during the three days' operations which have

* Appendix, No. V.

ended in the storm and capture of the great Pagoda, after the most harassing duties, which have proved fatal to so many valuable Officers and Soldiers.

“ This Order will be read to each Regiment and Company of the Force.”

The enemy appear to have placed great reliance on their Artillery. We captured in all ninety-eight guns, and seventy jingals. Several of the former were found to be eighteen-pounders, stamped with a plain crown, and 1812. Nearly every size and description of gun was to be seen, from the ship's carronade down to a brass gun of exquisite finish. The Burmese attempt at the European carriage has in view the useful rather than the ornamental; nor, although they fired so well, did they trouble themselves much with tangent-scales or elevating-screws. In short, about their Artillery there hovered a rude science, civilization struggling with ignorance, crudities seeking shape and organization.

Numerous stores, such as sulphur, saltpetre, old iron, bullets, old shot and shells, pigs of lead, crockery and glass ware (!), also 18,000 pounds of powder, were found in the magazine, on the south-west angle of the second terrace. And we ought to mention one serious item, “ muskets, with and without stocks, 480 ! ”

The Burmese have attacked one of our outpost picquets at Martaban, but without any success.

Friday, April 23rd.—A patrolling party visited Kemmendine, situated about two miles north-west of Rangoon.

No place was more talked of in the last war than Kemmendine. The Rewoon, after his flight, in May, 1824, threw up stockades near Kemmendine. It was there the British soldiers first perceived that the Burmese were not a people to be trifled with. In June of the same year, the enemy formed a large intrenched camp at Kemmendine. Then, a combined attack by land and water was determined on. Success was by no means impossible; but it was a badly managed business, and we were repulsed! One column could not even find the road to the scene of action; and it had been thought a fine thing to commit the atrocious folly of attacking such an intrenchment without the aid of guns or ladders! “Never despise your enemy!” and, “What is worth doing at all is worth doing well!” should be hung up in letters of gold on the walls of every war-office. These sayings are not the less true because they are so common. Kemmendine was, of course, eventually won; and it formed a most valuable post on the river.

Then came Bundoola, the Napoleon of Burmah, who was to drive the British at Rangoon into the sea; he attacked Kemmendine. On that warrior's approach, Sir Archibald Campbell had established his head-quarters in the Shoé Dagoon Pagoda, “a point the most central and commanding.” Kemmen-

dine was garrisoned by one hundred of the Madras European Regiment (Fusiliers), and by the 26th M. N. I.

There were attacks and counter-attacks ; there was a resolute defence ; and the sepoys of the 26th behaved so gallantly on the occasion, that at this day the Regiment wears on its colours the word "KEMMENDINE."

Having gone out by the north gate, the party proceeded to the westward, passing by the *abattis* of the stockade. It then diverged slightly to the right, through a picturesque piece of country ; and after half an hour's walk, over an excellent brick road, the famous town was reached. In the principal street of Kemmendine, men, women, and children, seemed to be engaged in their usual employments. It did not appear that the voice of war had at all disturbed the tenor of their domestic tranquillity. They eyed our party with evident curiosity, and seemed to look upon us in the light of friends rather than that of enemies. They brought the soldiers water to drink with cheerful readiness ; while the little children opened their eyes wide with astonishment at the "British lions." Some old men and women were about, who knew well what it was to live under a Burmese despotism ; and their looks disclosed the hope that the English would stay, and govern, and civilize, and not go away, as they did last time, unintentionally committing humanity to the hands of the oppressor.

Everyone in the town seemed to be busy about something. Many of the inhabitants of Kemmendine live in their boats, and are chiefly employed in fishing, and conveying goods to market.

The *Sesostris* lay peacefully on the water, nearly opposite, it was said, to the site of the Burmese intrenchments during the last war.

On our first arrival, the *Serpent* and *Feroze* had transacted some highly creditable business at Kemmendine; for they had put to flight the turbulent, who had sworn to do war, and fight with the chivalric spirit of a former generation.

On the way back to camp, brick-kilns, of some seven or eight thousand bricks, arched underneath, as in our own country, caught our attention. The brick here is of inferior quality; however, it acts as a tolerable substitute in a vicinity where little or no stone is to be found.

April 25th.—This being Sunday, divine service was performed in the Artillery mess-tent. There was something peculiarly striking in the Christian Common Prayer read in such a locality.

Surrounded by huge images, in their several shrines, in a humble tent we offered up our devotions to Him of whom the Creation is the Temple, which "He has built with His own hands, and which is filled with His presence." No Buddha, no rude image of an incarnation, profaned the rites. One presence only we recognized—a presence to be re-

verenced and feared—God, in the language of old, whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference is illimitable: omniscient, omnipresent, yet invisible!

How sublime is the picture of the greatness and grandeur of the Almighty, drawn by Dr. Chalmers, in one of his immortal “Astronomical Discourses!” “In yon gilded canopy of heaven, we see the broad aspect of the universe, where each shining point presents us with a sun, and each sun with a system of worlds, where the Divinity reigns in all the grandeur of His attributes, where He peoples immensity with His wonders, and travels in the greatness of His strength through the dominions of one vast and unlimited monarchy.”

Colonel Foord, our worthy Commandant, has been with us for several days past, having recovered from his *coup de soleil* of the 12th.

Some wounded Burmese, of whom great care has been taken by the philanthropists of the medical profession, are still about the camp. There is no more admirable trait in the character of civilized soldiers than the attention paid to wounded foes. And in no country has this humanity been more exercised than in India. From Assaye, down to the glorious victories which annexed the country of the five rivers, examples of this magnanimity may be found recorded.

April 27th.—Rumour is very busy at Rangoon; so to get at the truth is a difficult matter indeed. First, the King of Ava is dead; then, a merchant

at Moulmein has offered a large sum for the wood of the Burmese stockades. Then, a great many lakhs of treasure have been found; and, after due consideration, the King of Ava has resolved to pay us up fifteen lakhs of genuine silver rupees to get us out of the country.

The Shoé Dagoon Pagoda is supposed to be filled with treasure. It is a temple of *Dives* in every respect.

But there is some truth in the following statement:—A few days ago, a flag of truce was brought on board the Commodore's ship, *Fox*, and a message in the shape of a letter, written on a dirty piece of paper, was delivered. The Burmese were willing to make peace and begin with trade, provided that the British had no objection; but if we were resolutely bent on war, although on the enemy's side one army had been destroyed, they still had two others left. If the General was discreet, he would at once withdraw his army, and return to India Proper. By this means much bloodshed would be saved.

Commodore Lambert sent the messenger to General Godwin, who, on perusing the Foreign Office document, politely told its bearer to bring him no such impertinent messages; but if the king were desirous to make peace, he would have no objection, provided that ten lakhs of rupees were paid to the British Government, and other advantages ceded to us.

The document was described as "a wretched mixture of swagger and fear, braggadocio, and a surfeit of fighting." The General was likewise reported to have given the bearers of the letter "a pretty intelligible view of his opinion with regard to its sender," the late Governor of Rangoon, whom, he said, he would, if he could catch him, hang on the nearest tree, and "desired his ambassadors to be off about their business."

This morning a copy of the *Moulmein Times* found its way into camp. The operations of the 11th, 12th, and 14th, were related and commented on in glowing language. Only, Captain Scott, our Artillery Brigade Major, was erroneously killed in print by a *coup de soleil*. There is something satisfactory in thus being extinguished. Lord Brougham was put out in this way a good many years ago, and enjoyed the pleasure of reading his own epitaph; but, notwithstanding, the world has continued to receive from him original views of the theory of light, and the results of his efforts to accomplish law reform down to the present day.

A sale of prize ponies has produced some excitement among the military adventurers at Rangoon. About three thousand rupees were realized. The price of each animal varied from two to three hundred; one sturdy little creature went off at the large figure of 360. In the Tenasserim Provinces numbers of ponies are brought down by the Shans,

who also bring rubies. The Burmah pony may be purchased in the provinces for seventy to one hundred rupees. The genuine Pegu is seldom seen.

We are beginning to pull down the huge *sawmies* in the Poongee-houses, preparatory to the setting in of the monsoon. Many of these shrines will make roomy and comfortable mansions; some of them are lofty, with beautifully gilt interiors, which would surprise the architects of our own country.

It is strange to observe the numerous idols lying about the upper terrace. There is a soldier busy with his pick-axe, excavating a huge golden image with as much coolness as if he were digging a trench. He is looking into the creature's heart and head for treasure—gold, or small silver figures, or rubies, which he will dispose of as well as he can. But we believe it is under the personal superintendence of the prize agents that the principal idols are allowed to be excavated. This sacred spot is really one vast idol-shrine.

Two Italian Roman Catholic priests are described as being very energetic at this period. "They have secured a house as a place of worship, and are to be seen going about in the sun at all times of the day." While glancing at these zealous men as they pass by, one is led to ask himself the question, Will the Roman Catholic religion, which in so many respects resembles the worship of Buddha, reign paramount in the East, previous to its predicted fall?

Will Popery rise on the ruins of Buddhism? See—the latter has suffered (in its types at least) already—so many huge images in golden array lie on their faces broken, humiliated—the very sacred bells, from the smaller pagodas, pulled down by the European soldiery, no longer send forth their pleasant tinkling sound. Is the fashion of the place about to pass away? The large bells round the pagoda are struck on the occasion of a Burmese beauty, or person of distinction, coming to present offerings.*

In the north-east of the upper terrace, there is a magnificent bell. “It is twenty-four feet in circumference, the metal is two feet thick, and its height is ten or twelve feet. The weight must be prodigious; it is suspended about a foot above the ground. The Governor-General might have it hung before Government-House in Calcutta; it would be the greatest curiosity in the City of Palaces. Burmese characters are engraved over the entire outside of the bell”† A bell of more modest pretensions is on the west face. It was the “monarch of the peal” during the last war. The weight, according to Havelock, is 18,000 pounds avoirdupois. It is broken in several places, and, like its younger brother, is covered with writing—we believe, mythological passages relative to the religion of Gaudama.

* Also to summon the Poongees on feast-days.

† Diary in the *Englishman*, May 25th.

IN addition to these monsters of sound, there are smaller bells about supported by two figures, all of considerable beauty. The plainer bells at the tops of the pagodas, have gilt leaves attached to their tongues, which, when acted upon by the wind, produce soft melody. Nothing is more beautiful on the upper terrace than a small group of foliage and masonry to the north-west. Enshrined in a graceful building, with rows of small sanctuaries in the sides, is a venerable banian-tree. Some other tree has grown up beside it, as if in emulation of its majesty. From the large banian, which throws out luxuriant foliage in front of the great temple, issues a long, stone branch, which settling itself in a similar small building to that occupied by its parent, wears the appearance of a separate tree. A sort of green moss nearly covers these old shrines, for such they are. In the petty sanctuaries and niches around various images were formerly placed; also, on feast-days, flowers and burning candles were to be seen in honour of Gaudama, a form of Pagan worship we behold, to which the Roman Catholic ceremonies bear some affinity.

The origin of Gaudama is a moot point among the Burmese. One of their theories or traditions runs thus:—At the creation of the world by the Supreme Being, some angels, or inhabitants of the other world, came down below and tasted of the earth. One of them found the new material so ex-

cellent, that he ate so much, he could not again ascend. He, therefore, remained on earth as Gaudama, watching over mankind to the present day, through all their innumerable vicissitudes.

On the evening of the 27th started for a new shop near the beach, kept by a respectable tradesman from Moulmein. Making our exit from the south side of the pagoda, we pushed our way through the principal street of the new town, chiefly occupied by the Madras Native Infantry. On the road saw an unmistakeable Jack-tar hammering away at the cone of a small temple, probably making a step or two in order to ascend and secure the *tee*.

On return to camp, we had an excellent view of the Shoé Dagoon from the south. Through an avenue of trees, at the extremity of which the splendid temple is seen towering to the skies, the effect is highly picturesque. The beholder is then impressed with an idea of the pagoda commanding an elevated position. Some suppose it to be two thousand years old. As with the great temple of Bhobaneser, in Orissa, the importance of site has not been neglected by the Burmese architect, if such he was. From this point of view the lights and shadows of the picture invest the scene with a deep interest.

CHAPTER X.

GAUDAMA.

HAVING attempted, while lately in England, to give the British public some idea of the worship of Jagannáth and his celebrated shrine, it is strange enough to find one-self so soon after, far away from Europe, far away even from wild, romantic *Orissa*, in a land of war, endeavouring to make something of another of those “*etratas* of pseudo-religious fiction in which are preserved the *débris* and the fossilized skeletons of the faith.”*

Jagannáth and Gaudama, both are believed to be incarnations; the former, one of the popular incarnations of Vishnu, the latter, of Buddha. But Buddha, that quiet, sleepless philosopher, who has given so much trouble to men of science, is supposed by many of the Hindoos to be the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. Jagannáth and Gaudama, then, one would suppose, are not so very distinct. But they *are*

* Review of *Orissa* by a London journal.

very distinct in practice; and this is an "Asian mystery." Even the far-famed temple of Jagannáth is situated, as remarked by Colonel Sykes, "on or near the site of a celebrated relic temple of the Buddhists;" there is every reason, therefore, to believe that the modern worship of Jagannáth has a Buddhist origin. As the priority of Buddhism, the original patriarchal system, is now pretty generally admitted, it is well to see what those Brahmans, who consider Buddha an *avatar* of Vishnu, think of that extraordinary sage. He seems to us the Luther of Antiquity in the East. He exerted himself, according to the Indian history, in restoring the religion of his country—India—to its original purity.

This was not tolerated, as it tended to destroy Brahmanical influence; sin, in consequence, abounded more and more, the righteous were detested, persecuted, and in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries of the Christian era, the followers of the religion of Buddha were expelled from Hindostan. This religious and contemplative creed, in its present form, probably originated in Central India; but every date or computation regarding the era of Buddha differs. It is placed as far back as 1330 B. C. He may have been some great and wise king, eventually deified by his subjects and meeting with extraordinary veneration, amounting to superstition, such as is practised throughout Thibet, Siam, Cochin China,

Burmah, Tartary, Japan, even to the present day. To reconcile dates,* say that two Buddhas, or rather Gaudamas, are believed to have dwelt on earth.

Many Buddhists think that the present universe has been ruled successively by four Buddhas, of whom Gautama, or Gaudama, whose doctrines now prevail in Ceylon, Ava, and some other places where the religion of Buddha is acknowledged, is the fourth. A fifth *Maistree* Buddha is yet to come; he, a greater than any hitherto, is yet to come. And in India, there is "Kalki," the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, yet to take place. The "Preserver," mounted on a white horse, with a scimitar in his hand, is to renovate creation with an era of purity. If it be not too presumptuous to advance such a supposition, these strange incarnations are likely to be realized in British power, British civilization and British enterprize.

Gaudama is supposed by many to have established the sect of Buddhists. He was greatly offended with the conduct of the Brahmans on a particular

* The date of the Siamese, Japanese, and Ceylonese, are 544 and 542—the first two agreeing in date; and Monsieur Bailly and Sir W. Jones, nearly agree with the Chinese, in assigning to the era of Buddha, the dates of 1031, and about 1000 B.C. There must, it has been supposed, have been two Bhuddhas—one, perhaps, the incarnation of Vishnu; the other, the original Bhudda, or Budha, probably a king of India.—*Orissa*, p. 13.

occasion, which was the cause of his separating from their communion, and establishing a new religion. So says tradition. "This Gautama," writes Colonel Vans Kennedy in his erudite "Researches," "may have been merely a learned Brahman; for it certainly seems much more probable that in India a Brahman should be the founder of a new sect, than that it should owe its origin to the son of a king."

But the Buddhists *wholly* disavow the ninth incarnation of Vishnu. They insist that the worship of Buddha possesses a far higher claim to antiquity than that of the deities of the Brahmans, who, they maintain, came from other countries, and established their own religion, mainly by the power of the sword, on the ruins of the more ancient one of Buddha, which had for ages before prevailed.* In a former work,† we stated that, with all its error, a seeming purity, an honesty, a sincerity of purpose, belong to Buddhism, which we search for in vain in Brahmanism. The Brahmans appear before us in dark colours as a set of despots, shorn of all their scientific glory, whose chief delight is to fetter the human intellect, by domineering over the inferior masses of mankind. Among the Buddhists of later centuries, including those of the present time, the adoration of a *Great Supreme*, unseen, is more apparent than among the Brahmans. The present Brahmanical system, which has so long existed, is founded on

* Coleman.

† Orissa.

outward display, licentiousness and mammon. Yet, this neglect of the spirit pervading all things, is forbidden in the principal *shastras*, and by various Brahmanical authors, when it is stated that, "it is for the ignorant to view God in wood and stone; the wise behold him in spirit alone." Buddhism is supposed to have been introduced into the kingdoms of Ava and Pegu by emissaries from Ceylon.

According to the Chinese it came into their empire about sixty-five years after the commencement of the Christian era, during the reign of Ming-ty, of the Hân dynasty. "That monarch, considering a certain saying of Confucius to be prophetic of some saint to be discovered in the west, sent emissaries to seek him out. On reaching India they discovered the sect of Buddhists, and brought back some of them with their idols and books to China. The tradition is, that Buddha was both king and priest in a country of the west, with a queen whom he made a divinity.*

And now Buddha awakes from a state of felicitous nonentity,† assumes his operative and creative qualities; so let us at Rangoon behold him incarnate as Gaudama. The most common image, from the colossal down to the diminutive, is that which sits with crossed legs, the right arm easily depending, or on the knee; the left arm is laid across the body. The

* "The Chinese," by Davis.

† *Nicban*, in Burmese, is annihilation.

ears have elongated lobes reaching to the shoulders ; and the hair is twisted into a fantastic knot on the top of the head. There sits the creature, clad in an effeminate robe, gazing tranquilly. It is often mistaken for a female. To get a good view of the object, let us survey the large, upright images. Many of them stand twelve feet in height, and have the right hand over the breast, while the left holds up a graceful flow of drapery. The head is encircled with ornaments. There is a tincture of female beauty about the faces of some of them. These figures, perhaps, were designed to represent the past, the queens of successive Gaudamas throughout many generations. The gilding appears to be of a superior quality. Strange enough is it that the Burmese excel alike in forming a beautiful image, and in fabricating from stone or wood some winged monsters, which are absolutely terrible to look upon. Such are some of those which stand out around the great pagoda.

In the creed of Gaudama, there is nothing like the Brahmanical caste. This is a very important point. Comparing Brahmanism with Buddhism, a writer remarks,—“ Imperfect as Gaudama’s moral system undoubtedly is, it must be acknowledged free from numerous gross Brahmanical sources of error. *Unshackled by caste*, and resting their hopes on individual merits, his followers are characterised by greater independence of conduct, and a somewhat

higher, less clouded ethical knowledge." And again, "It may strike the heart of a Christian heavily, to see prayers offered up before the uncouth idols of Gaudama; yet, after having witnessed Hindoo rites and festivals, there may be some consolation in the far more amiable features which the service of Gaudama assumes, and in the freedom of his followers from the debasing effects of impure rites, and scenes of barbarous and revolting cruelties."* There can be no doubt of the truth of these remarks, and they augur well for the future enlightenment and consequent civilization of Burmah.

The changes that the various religions of the earth have undergone, must always form matter of interest to the student of history. But all arrive at the same Omega—there is but one God, Jehovah, the Lord of all. With regard to caste, excluded from the creed of Gaudama, but the effect of which on our own Anglo-Indian empire is a matter of serious importance, Colonel Sykes gives some interesting information in his "Notes on Ancient India." It is supposed that the divisions of caste were anciently "secular and not religious, as the four castes, as they were called, existed equally amongst the Buddhists, as amongst the Hindoos." Brahmanical caste, however, is considered to be *a divine ordinance*, whilst the Buddhist is regarded *simply as a civil institution*. Strictly speaking, there is no Buddhistical

* *Calcutta Review*.

caste. Consequently, we are warranted in stating, that the religion of Gaudama is unshackled by caste.

By the simple introduction of one letter to the present name, it will be observed that the mystic syllable AUM appears in the word Gaudama. It literally signifies three in one. The Brahmins apply it to their triad of *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, and *Siva*. The Buddhists apply it to *Buddha*, *Dharma*, and *Sanga*. According to the interior doctrine, *Buddha*, or the Intelligence, produced *Dharma*, the Law, and the two united constituted *Sanga*, the Union, or combination of several. Such is the Buddhist Supreme Head, or God, the Law, and the Church. These three are supposed by M. Remusat to have been represented by images in China, during the grand processions many centuries ago. Then "all the images were of gold or silver, ornamented with precious stones. When the images had arrived within one hundred paces of the gate, the king took off his crown, *changed his garments*, and advanced barefoot towards it, accompanied by his suite; falling at its feet, he adored it (a gross corruption of the principles of Buddhism, which taught the worship of the Supreme Intelligence only), burning at the same time perfumes, and scattering flowers."*

There is little or no difference in the manner in which these processions are ordered in many parts

* Quoted in the "Idol-shrine," from "Notes on Ancient India," by Colonel Sykes, F.R.S.

of China even at the present day. The priesthood assembled, worshipping, chanting, striking gongs; the priests with shaven crowns, and arrayed in the yellow robes of their religion, their "lowering look of bigotry," incense burning in the temple, counting of beads, and tinkling of bells—what a glimpse have we at Romish Christianity in all this display!

The worship of Gaudama in the Tenasserim Provinces, and other portions of the old Burmese empire is at the present time celebrated in a similar way. In the religious procession, there may be cars, dressed out with rude grandeur, as at Jagannáth; but without the noise, and the indecencies, and the fanatic madness of Indian worship; or it may be simply a foot procession, when well-dressed Talains (Peguese) and Burmese proceed on particular occasions to their numerous pagodas, "bearing offerings of flowers, of fruits, of flags, of glittering umbrellas," and present their offerings at the altars, or place them around and against the pagodas and image-houses.

The books of the Buddhist priests, we are informed, "mention a country called Sylân (Ceylon) in which, near the sea, there is on a certain mountain (Adam's Peak) the print of a foot three cubits in length. At Rangoon, we found a colossal foot of Gaudama; it was discovered at the base of one of the large images, and it certainly is a great curiosity. It is of white solid marble, about five feet in length,

and ten or twelve inches deep. Several strong European soldiers could scarcely move the huge foot. It is to be hoped that the British Museum will be yet enriched by the presence of this colossal symbol.

April 28th.—The handsome *sawmies*, as the servants style them, brought in for sale, are not of much value; but they are curious. The coating of silver is generally very thin. The figures are represented sometimes holding a small pot, or a basket of eggs. Perhaps they are intended to illustrate how the disciples of the Pongees (or Poonghis) are employed out of school-hours. The inhabitants of villages most willingly present these pupils, out of respect for their teachers, with rice, fruit, and other eatables. A *Kiung* is a suitable residency for one or more Pongees. These are built at the expense of the town or village. Round the *Kiung*, the *Dzayat* is built for the use of travellers.

The dependence of the priesthood of Gaudama on charity reminds one of the usages of the primitive Christian professors—"Go your ways: behold I send you forth as lambs among wolves. Carry neither purse, nor scrip, nor shoes: and salute no man by the way. And into whatsoever house ye enter first, say, Peace be to this house."* Such were the words of the Divine Teacher of mankind. Mercy and charity are two remarkable features in Buddhism. The Pongees are the national in-

* St. Luke, x. 3, 4, 5.

structors. "Any layman may turn Pongee, and *vice versa*, a Pongee may lay aside his yellow cloth and re-enter upon a secular life." In China there are numerous monasteries attached to the temples of Fo, or Buddha. The mendicant priests therein resemble the monks of the Roman church. Celibacy is a principal vow on entering the priesthood. It is of course the same with the Pongee. The Pongees of Burmah are a remarkable class of men; but yet for all their wisdom, they would not hesitate to believe that the mother of Buddha or Gaudama, swallowed an elephant in a dream, whence the veneration for elephants in this golden land.

CHAPTER XI.

SMALL AND GREAT EVENTS.

APRIL 29TH.—Yesterday, some of our Europeans found a little model of a Buddhist temple, silvered over in the same manner as the small images. Several of these figures were found with the tiny idol-shrine; all in different attitudes, presenting their offerings to Gaudama. Every day reveals new curiosities in this wonderful spot.

At present, Rangoon, so hot, so monotonous, so relaxing, is by no means comfortable. The grand excitement over, there is now a stupid reaction. But it is not wise to remain long grumbling, especially on the upper terrace. Let us turn to comfort, at Rangoon, during the last war, and be silent; but then they had plenty of exciting *business* during the first few weeks of the campaign under Sir A. Campbell.

Unlike General Godwin, the Commander of former days did not at first establish his head-quarters on

the upper terrace of the great Pagoda; not until, as has been observed, Bundoola approached. Our General remained only a few days under cover of the south entrance; he afterwards repaired to a more convenient position in the new town, which certainly does not look new. About this town there is nothing remarkable. Everything is common-place; long, narrow streets, closely packed with houses on each side; no signs of municipal government, or of the Sewers Commissioners having visited the spot for many a long day.

Commodore Lambert, occasionally, strolls through the camp.

He carries on his countenance decision of character, one of the grandest requisites for every officer who would achieve greatness. And there certainly can be no finer field for the exercise of this virtue—if it may be so styled—than a Burmese war: for, in this land, the diplomatists are cunning.

Monday, May 3rd.—We have commenced building houses for the monsoon, which begins about the middle of May. Everyone is busy, Burmese carpenters working for us cheerfully, and evincing a certain rude skill; officers and soldiers, all employed. Priests are wandering among the ruins, sighing and praying. They behold the gilt pongee-house turned into a barrack, or a mess-house; they behold quantities of grain being taken away by the Commissariat Department to make room for the abode of white

strangers; they behold everything suffering from the spirit of change! They, perhaps, think the "great globe itself" is about to dissolve. It may naturally strike some of them, that Gaudama had the power to keep away the strangers; but as we give them no reason to regard us as anything else than protectors, they are not disposed to be offended with his *chary* exercise of authority.

The prickly heat and mosquitoes are unwelcome guests here. The nights are cool and pleasant; but, during the day, the heat is great, generally 98°, and occasionally 105° in the smaller tents.

According to recent home-intelligence, the Earl of Ellenborough said in the House of Lords,* with regard to the report which had reached England, that his Golden Footed Majesty was inclined to be pacific—"He hoped, though he could scarcely believe it, that the accounts just received of the settlement of the dispute were true. He was afraid, too, that, if hostilities ensued, the Government would find the claims for compensation from British subjects enormous. The Marquis of Lansdowne entered into an explanation as to the dispute at Rangoon, saying, that he had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the concessions granted by the Burmese emperor; and concluded by declaring his conviction that we had right on our side." As to the matter of compensation alluded to by Lord Ellenborough, the Burmese,

* Feb. 16th.

of course, will be forced to pay that, if required. But even this rests entirely, one would suppose, with the Indian Government.

May 10th.—"Where can the Governor of Rangoon be?"—a question very frequently asked in the camp; but never satisfactorily answered. At one time, he was reported to have been seen on a pony, some ten miles distant, with two hundred followers. At another, he was supposed to be concealing himself, in order to avoid the certain vengeance his Majesty of Ava would bring down upon him for his conduct at the great stronghold of Gaudama. But more vast intelligence was soon on the gale. On the 7th instant, an expedition, consisting of some four or five hundred men, from H. M.'s 18th Royal Irish, and the 35th Madras Native Infantry, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Apthorp,* of the latter corps, left Rangoon in pursuit of the Governor. A party of about sixty marines accompanied them. The troops were taken up by the *Tenasserim*, *Pluto*, and *Medusa*. The marines were from the *Fox*, under Commander Tarleton. It was now reported that Colonel Apthorp had "gone in search of an army of Burmese, 20,000 Infantry and 500 Cavalry, with many pieces of ordnance, which were coming down upon us with destructive intent." In addition to this "formidable army," there was the Governor of Rangoon, with an escort of 10,000

* K. S. F.

men, under the personal command of—Captain Impey! We were certainly to be driven into the sea!

Regarding Impey, every one speaks. In England, it may not be generally known who he was. In a few words, he served as an officer in the Madras Army; eventually became an Assistant to the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, and, in that situation, abandoned the army to which he belonged, and, as was generally supposed, went over to the Burmese.

It was now reported in Calcutta that a Mogul, recently arrived from Burmah, stated that the King of Ava had secured the aid of an eminent European; it was hinted that that person was Captain Impey!

But the best story about the wonderful Impey is the following:—"At the taking of the great Pagoda, a Madras soldier, who knew Impey well, saw him making his way through a stockade, and just about to mount his horse. The soldier ran towards the spot, and hailed Impey by name, and asked him to stop; whereupon Impey replied, quite in the Jingle tone, 'By-by, my boy! we shall meet again!' And then, getting into his saddle, rode off for the jungles, and was out of sight."

Rumour also had it, that another European, named Harrison, was aiding and directing the Burmese. And why? Because his name was seen cut on many a tree!

Colonel Apthorp's force disembarked by 4 A. M. of the 8th instant, and advanced on Maubee, about seven miles inland. Our steamers had proceeded between thirty and forty miles up the river. Their crews landed with the troops. But they arrived just in time to see the Governor decamping with two elephants, and a number of carts. The bulk of his property he had sent off the previous evening, "having received intimation of the intended arrival of the steamers."

"The carts," says one account, "the troops were in time to catch; but nothing beyond some articles of household furniture, and some muskets and swords, was found in them, which latter were destroyed. Some women and children were in the carts, who were, of course, let go. Our troops remained during the heat of the day in the village, and at 4 P.M. fired it, and went away."

Three golden umbrellas were found in the Governor's house at Maubee.

The heat during the land-march was intense. One seaman of the *Tenasserim* died from *coup de soleil*, and several sailors as well as soldiers suffered severely from the sun. And yet the Governor was not caught, after all!

The force returned to Rangoon at noon of the 9th instant.

Another version of this affair is as follows:—After a hot march through a dense jungle, the force

came to a large plain, "which would have made a most excellent little battle-ground. The ex-Governor, with about 1,500 men, waited, apparently as if he intended to fight; but I conclude his courage failed him, as, when our force arrived within about three-quarters of a mile of him, he fled with all his followers."

May 11th.—Intelligence has been received that the *Phlegethon*, under Captain Niblett, very nearly caught the Governor of Rangoon; we suppose when on his flight from Maubee. The *Phlegethon* was at the time cruising about, and making herself useful, when she came through a narrow creek, where steamer had never been before. The unfortunate Governor had just time to get into a small canoe, and make his escape. However, he left his large boat behind, containing eleven thousand rupees. [A report current on our first taking up quarters at Rangoon was, that the King of Ava had sent the Governor several lakhs of rupees to pay the British General.]

According to another version of the story, it was the Governor of Dalla, and not the Governor of Rangoon, that the fortunate *Phlegethon* had come across. "She captured his grandmother, and one of his old wives; for the fellow (his Highness of Dalla) is a Mormonite, and, for the sake of variety and to meet contingencies, keeps a good number on hand, of both old and young. But the steamer got something

more valuable than these ancient ladies: namely, 13,000 rupees in cash, besides jewellery and valuables, worth four or five thousand!"

Previous to the success of the *Phlegethon*, the *Muhanuddy*, river-steamer, had been reconnoitring near Rangoon.

The kind manner in which the Burmese were treated by the crew, re-assured the people of our protection; and numbers had come, in consequence, back to the town. The Burmese are flocking into Rangoon daily. New houses are being erected on the sites of the burned ones; and Rangoon promises soon to be far more populous and flourishing than it has ever been before.

"The bazaar is already well supplied with fish, fruit, vegetables, and poultry in abundance. Coolies in any number are procurable; and they are very expert in running up a house in a very short time, using no implement but a *dâh*, with which they can cut a toothpick, or erect a stockade."*

Towards the end of April, a number of trading-schooners came in, freighted with spirits and various liquors, from Moulmein. Commodore Lambert and General Godwin, on becoming aware of the fact, immediately promulgated

"PORT REGULATIONS.

"1. All vessels trading to Rangoon shall produce

* Correspondent of the *Calcutta Englishman*.

their bill of lading, on their arrival, to the Master Attendant.

“ 2. That the Custom-house wharf shall be the only place where such vessels will be allowed to land their cargoes. The hours for so doing will be from sunrise to sunset.

“ 3. That a competent person will be appointed to strictly observe that no part of the cargoes of these vessels is allowed to pass without a permit, signed by the Master Attendant.

“ 4. Spirits and wines of any description are prohibited, without a special order from the Headquarters of the Army, or the Senior Naval Officer in Command.

“ 5. All fire-arms and ammunition are prohibited; and vessels having more on board than is actually necessary will be seized.

(Signed) “GEORGE ROBERT LAMBERT,
“ Commodore, H. M.’s ship *Fox*.
“ Rangoon, April 28th, 1852.”

There having been some misapprehension among the Burmese who had come into Rangoon, as to the grant of, and right to, lands for the erection of dwelling-houses, General Godwin had deemed it advisable to issue the following:—

“ PROCLAMATION.

“ It is to be distinctly understood that all persons now occupying houses and land in Rangoon, only occupy

and hold the same on sufferance ; present permission gives them no legal right to the property. The British Government is now at war with Ava, and although the army has taken Rangoon, that circumstance gives the Commodore no power to assign land or houses to any person whatever. All these matters will be arranged after peace has been restored either by British Commissioners, or the Burmese authorities, as the case may be.

“ By order, &c.

(Signed) “ G. ALLAN, Captain,
“ Deputy-Assistant Quarter-Master-General.”

May 12th.—Yesterday, the 67th Bengal Native Infantry disembarked from the *Berenice* and *Zenobia*, having arrived from Kyouk Phyoo, in Arracan, on the 10th instant. They occupy a rising ground to the north of the Pagoda. The 40th Bombay Native Infantry protect the west face of the stockade. The 67th is commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sturt. The 5th Regiment Madras Native Infantry took its place at Arracan. The newly-arrived corps was the cause of the first “ alarm ” in camp.

Last night, about twelve o'clock, while the rain was descending in torrents, the bugles sounded forth the general assembly. A report having been current, that the Burmese meditated coming down in great force, made every one on the alert. “ The enemy might have taken advantage of the dark and

night"—“They had let us alone too long,” and similar ideas entered the heads of some who were thus suddenly roused from their slumbers, and forced to turn out on duty. But all were soon glad to turn in again. A sentry of the 67th had fired at the stump of an old tree. The true story was, he had shot an unfortunate old woman. The other sentries fired, and hence the cause of the alarm.

The following picture seems to give a good idea of the importance of Martaban:—“Let any one ascend the hills of Martaban, and look down upon the rich and extensive alluvial plains below, the rich meadow which we should possess for sheep-rearing. Let him proceed through the villages to any distance into the interior, and observe the beautiful gardens thickly studded with tropical fruit-trees. Proceeding along, look at the commodious creeks with which every part of the country is intersected, well adapted to the uses of our timber-merchants. In fact, the province of Martaban is far superior every way to Moulmein, and our Government would do well to retain it.”

The *Hermes* and *Pluto* have left us; the former is off to China, the latter, we believe, to the Straits.

* On the Salween, as before observed, “this river is the boundary marking the British territory to the north-west; and Kyodon, or Rope Station, is a few miles below the Falls, where the river is from one mile to a quarter of a mile in breadth.”

The *Mahanuddy* is under repair. While on some new enterprise a short time since she got on a sand-bank and sustained serious injury. A journalist writes:—"The engine works and boiler of the unfinished steamer of the Burmah king, which we got hold of some time ago, have come to great service. Parts have been taken and used for repairing the *Mahanuddy*."

We believe the *Tenasserim*, while on duty up the river, took this scientific prize away from his Golden-Footed Majesty. On our former occupation of Rangoon the British found a sailing-vessel in progress, now we find a little war-steamer. The spirit of modern science seems to breathe everywhere. But judging from the ungraceful *Helen*, the Burmese themselves have not much idea of ship-building. Probably it was enough for them if speed, in the present instance, could be made to serve the place of beauty.

It seems to be generally believed that steam will bring about great wonders and changes in the East. Many orientals look upon a steamer as a demon in harness, at full speed. When these same alarmists, in due course of time, shall behold an engine on the railway, they will of course be terrified that the demon is out of harness, and at liberty altogether.

Steam is, perhaps, *the* Asian mystery! one of the grand magnets, so to speak, for drawing the civilization of the West to the far East. Who will

venture to speculate on the extent of its coming power? Before the last war the King of Ava's sages informed him that, when a vessel should proceed up the Irrawaddy without sails or oars, then, and *not* till then, would his glory begin to depart. The prediction was partly fulfilled by the *Diana*, and the eventual treaty which was signed.

With so many fine steamers under British command at Rangoon, some of them ready to proceed to Prome at a moment's notice, the end of his Golden-Footed Majesty's glory must now surely be near at hand!

The following extract from a letter may be interesting to many, at this portion of the narrative:—"The screw war-steamer, *Rattler*, is a perfect puzzle to the Burmese: it is a contrivance they cannot understand, a mystery they are unable to solve. They gape and wonder, and are lost in amazement; in short they can make nothing of it. They see a large ship move without a rag of canvass, and independent of wind and tide, where she likes and how she likes, and all this with no visible machinery to impel her through the water. . . . They return baffled and confounded, and I dare say by this time their minds are so far made up on the subject, that the *Rattler* is put in motion by an agency nothing short of infernal."*

For the last week sickness has been on the de-

* *Hurkaru*, May 25.

crease among the Europeans at Rangoon. On the 11th, the 18th Royal Irish had only seventy men in hospital, while the 49th B. N. I. had upwards of 300. Her Majesty's 51st have suffered severely, having up to yesterday lost by disease upwards of fifty men. The wing of H. M.'s 80th and the European Artillery are tolerably healthy. Major Lockhart, commanding the former corps, died on the 5th instant.

Barracks for the European troops are about to be constructed. Timber, ready cut, has arrived from Moulmein; but it is feared, notwithstanding the energy of Major Fraser and his assistants, the barracks will not be completed in less than two months. The site chosen for the barracks is towards the south-west angle of the stockade, "about midway between the line of stockade on the south, and the wall of the Pagoda."

A journalist of the 12th May gives the following correct information:—"The 10th of this month has all along been fixed on as the day for the commencement of the rains, and pretty near the mark it has proved, as from the 10th it did rain a few drops. Last night it came down in torrents, and blew a gale of wind. This morning we were similarly favoured, and may now consider the rains as fairly commenced."*

* "The Artillery are clearing out the numerous pagodas on the upper terrace; but the 80th and 18th occupy the covered way of the flights of steps on the south and west sides. As I

In the evening the principal walk of some of us is round the upper terrace. It is a pleasant stroll should a man be inclined to the meditative. Notwithstanding the number of troops encamped around, there is no noise. His reverie may only be disturbed by the stern appearance of some sphynx-like figure, staring from the base of the Shoé Dagoon, as if it wished to speak to him. He may mount the ramparts, and behold the Rangoon river as it winds towards the sea. He may be charmed with the landscape of dark and light-green foliage, relieved by a bright creek or so, all beautiful to look upon. In the distance he may behold the Syrian Pagoda, and quite near to him Dalla, and Rangoon itself, with its numerous small temples, all bathed in the splendour of a setting sun.

before said, they are by no means adequately protected from the elements there, and yet I fear they will have nothing better for some weeks. The 51st are located in houses towards the south-east angle of the stockade, and are well off."—*Diary of an Officer in the "Englishman,"* May 25th.

CHAPTER XII.

CAPTURE OF BASSEIN.—BURMESE ATTACK ON
MARTABAN.

THE capture of Bassein, on Wednesday, the 19th of May, brought about by an attack, ably planned, well timed, and bravely executed, formed one of the most brilliant achievements recorded in this narrative. Bassein, it appears, was once a valuable port, under the Portuguese power; and this position was declared by Sir Archibald Campbell to be the key of the Burmese empire. In the last war the gallant Sale occupied Bassein,* with a considerable force; but neither the force nor the station rendered much service to the army. This, of course, was occasioned by circumstances over which the British commander had no control; for Bassein really is an important position. With Prome and Donabew it forms a right-angled triangle, of which Prome and Bassein constitute the hypotenuse. It may be some eighty-

* Appendix, No. VI.

five or ninety miles nearly direct west from Rangoon. Its chief advantage consists in commanding one of the three great navigable branches of the Irrawaddy.

On the 17th May, General Godwin proceeded with a detachment of eight hundred men, some four hundred European and three hundred Native Infantry, sixty Sappers, and a party of Marines, to take possession of Bassein. To reach this port they were forced to make for Negrais's island, and ascend the Bassein river—"the Rangoon river not being yet quite navigable upwards by the steamers;" or rather, being navigable for boats only, by the way of Bassein Creek. The fleet consisted of the *Sesostris*, the *Moozuffer*, the *Tenasserim*, and the little steamer *Pluto*, all under the command of Commodore Lambert.

Bassein, about sixty miles above Negrais, was reached by the fleet on the afternoon of the 19th. The *Pluto*, in advance, had intercepted a boat, filled with Burmese, on its way to give warning of our approach. Nothing could be got out of the crew save—"that it did not much matter whether news reached the Governor of Bassein or not, that a force was coming up against him, as everything was in a perfect state of readiness up there to blow us out of the water."

The *Friend of India* writes:—"By four o'clock in the afternoon of the 19th May the steamers were ranged opposite the fortifications of Bassein, having

accomplished a voyage of sixty miles, without a pilot, up an unknown river, lined with stockades, without an accident, and without a shot having been fired. The Governor-General, in his Notification, thanking General Godwin and his force for their achievements, alludes to this circumstance as heightening in no small degree, the difficulty, and therefore the *credit* of the exploit." We agree with the *Friend* in considering that, in the capture of Bassein, General Godwin displayed some of the best qualities of an English general.

There is discrimination in the following remarks :—

" We read of no errors, the results of misinformation, of no losses proceeding from rash or ill-digested movements. The work marked out could hardly have been executed with greater despatch; nor could the resistance of the enemy, strongly posted, confident and determined, have been subdued and overcome with less loss. It is pleasing to have to record a success, alloyed by no imprudence, unaccompanied by a numerous list of casualties, resulting either from blundering ignorance, or rash, ill-considered and unnecessary attacks."*

The conduct of all the troops employed, particularly H. M.'s 51st, was truly admirable on this occasion.

There is something magnificently cool, too, about

* *Englishman, and Military Chronicle.*

the gallant Captain Latter—parleying with the Burmese behind their own works—to the effect that if they would not fire at us, we would not fire on them. The reply of the enemy was, that if our force advanced one step further they would fire on us. Captain Latter rejoined, that in that case we would turn them out root and branch. At the same time a heavy discharge of musketry and jingals and round shot was poured into us.

Our troops then commenced work in right earnest. The non-commissioned officer accompanying Captain Latter was killed, and fell over that officer, who lay prostrate, and stunned from the effects of a spent shot, every one supposed him to have been killed. But, no!—he bore a charmed life; and more glory was in store for him.

The noble Captain, in relating to us the story of this dangerous adventure, did not think the projectile thrown at him was “a brickbat;”* but so rumour had it, and so it remains. He considered himself to have had a very narrow escape; and who will deny that he had?

“The whole affair,” writes a describer of the scene, “occupied fifty minutes, and a gallant one it was; 5,000 of the King of Ava’s picked soldiers were there, and 2,000 men of Bassein.” Of course, an Armenian, or European, was, as usual, seen on the works directing the Artillery. “The

* Despatch of Major Errington.

loss of the enemy is calculated at 800; the gunnery from the ships was terrific and most effectual." Considering our small numbers, the loss on the side of the British was not trifling.

The following officers were wounded:—Major Errington,* Captains Darroch and Rice, and Lieutenant Carter—all of H. M.'s 51st Foot; also, Lieutenant Ansley, of the 9th Madras Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Rice, R.N.

The grand total of guns and jingals captured amounted to eighty-one. Immediately after the conquest the Burmese evacuated the town;—and thus Bassein fell!

The event is thus recorded in the Governor-General's Notification, and General Godwin's Despatch. From the latter all the important details concerning the capture of Bassein may be culled:—

“ NOTIFICATION.

“ *Fort William, Foreign Department, 5th June, 1852.*

“ The Governor-General in Council has the gratification of announcing the capture of Bassein, and of publishing, for general information, the Despatches which report the combined operations of the Naval and Military Force, by which this service has been executed.

“ In ascending for sixty miles a river still very imperfectly known, in effecting the landing of the

* Appendix, No. VII.

troops and capturing the city, the fort, and the stockaded defences on both sides of the river, fully garrisoned and armed, and in accomplishing all this with very unequal numbers, and within the limits of a single day, the combined forces at Bassein performed a gallant and spirited service, which well deserves the approbation and applause of the Government of India.

“ To Lieutenant-General Godwin, C.B., and to Commodore Lambert, the Governor-General in Council has again the satisfaction of offering his cordial acknowledgments of the ability and good-will with which they have united their exertions for ensuring success to the operations in which they were engaged.

“ The Governor-General in Council begs to repeat his thanks to Major Boulderson, Deputy Judge Advocate General, to Captain Latter, to Captain Chads, A.D.C., and to Lieutenant Ford, of the Madras Sappers, for their conduct in the field on this occasion.

“ His Lordship in Council desires especially to mark his sense of the services rendered by Major Errington, H.M. 51st Light Infantry, commanding the detachment of troops at Bassein, and to Commander Campbell, of the Indian Navy, by whom the stockade upon the right bank of the river was stormed and taken.

“ To Captain Rice, Captain Darroch, and Lieute-

nant Carter, of H. M.'s 51st Light Infantry, to Lieutenant Ansley, 9th M. N. I., to Lieutenant Craster, Bengal Engineers, and to Dr. McCosh, of the Medical Department, the Governor-General in Council begs leave to convey his best thanks.

“Equal acknowledgments are due to Lieutenant Rice, R. N., to Lieutenant Elliot and Lieutenant Nightingale, R. M., to Commander Hewett, to Lieutenant Robinson and Lieutenant Lewis, Indian Navy, and to Captain Dicey, Captain Burbank and Mr. F. Duncan, of the Bengal Marine, whose services have been commended.

“The Governor-General in Council has particular satisfaction in adding the expression of his entire approbation of the gallantry and good conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of H. M.'s 51st Regiment, of 9th Regiment M. N. I., of the Madras Sappers and Miners, and of the seamen and marines employed in the capture of the City of Bassein.

“By order of the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council.

“C. ALLEN,

“Officiating Secretary to the Government
of India.”

From Lieut.-General H. GODWIN, C.B, Commanding the Forces in Ava, Arracan and Tenasserim Provinces.

“SIR,—The Governor-General having expressed some anxiety about the south part of Arracan, as being in the neighbourhood of Bassein, I resolved, as soon as I could conveniently leave Rangoon, to take a Detachment, and personally visit the place. On expressing this intention to Commodore Lambert, he, to my very great pleasure, said he would accompany me. I fixed on Monday the 17th May, and had a Detachment warned to be ready to embark on that morning, consisting of 400 of the 51st K. O. L. I., 300 of the 9th Madras N. I., 67 Madras Sappers, and a Sergeant and 6 Gunners of the Bengal Artillery. The whole party was placed under the Command of Major Errington of the 51st L. I.

“The Commodore appointed three fine vessels to carry the troops—the H. C. S. F. *Sesostris* and *Moozuffer*, and the *Tenasserim*, with a smaller steamer, the *Pluto*, carrying the Naval Brigade and Marines of H. M.’s frigate *Fox*.

“We cleared the Rangoon river on the afternoon of Monday the 17th, and on the next evening anchored off Negrais Island, leading into the Bassein river. At daybreak the next morning the Flotilla weighed and we ascended that most beautiful stream

for sixty miles, which at four o'clock brought us in view of the defences, of about a mile long, of the City of Bassein. We had passed some new stockades, one at and the other south of Naputa, a few miles below the town, which were not armed, but these consisted of one extensive stockade, with several hundred men in it, fully armed with cannon.

"The enemy looked at us, but did not show any disposition to molest. The Flotilla arrived at the left of their position, a strong well-built Mud Fort, armed with cannon and men. This we passed within two hundred yards, and so in succession all their defences for nearly a mile, till the *Tenasserim*, with the Commodore and myself on board, anchored opposite a golden Pagoda, centrally situated within the defences. The steamers anchored in succession without bringing down the fire of a single musket.

"The admirable position taken up by the steamers induced me to order the immediate landing of the troops. The enemy appeared so completely surprised and paralyzed by our approach, that I gave orders not to fire unless fired on, and to take possession of the Pagoda. Nearly all the men of H. M.'s 51st Foot got on shore under the Pagoda before a shot was fired. Captain Latter, my interpreter, accompanied Captain Darroch with a company of the 51st on shore, and landed on the extreme right of

the works, opposite a traverse covering a gateway, and there a parley was held between Captain Latter and some Burmese on the walls, which brought on the first discharge of musketry, killing a sergeant and wounding two men. This fire was taken up and ran down the works, but soon ceased.

“ At this time Major Errington made his advance on the Pagoda and carried it in most gallant style, the 51st L. I. maintaining nobly the character they had ever commanded by their courage and distinguished conduct in the field.

“ The contest that stamped the operations of this remarkable day with a brilliant conclusion, was the attack on the Mud Fort, most scientifically built, and of great extent, which could only have been constructed under a despotism that commanded the labour of its subjects, in the short time they had been about it. It was not entirely completed in its details within. The storming party under Major Errington proceeding to the left of the Burmese works, accompanied by Lieutenant Rice, of H. M.'s frigate *For*, and Lieut. Ford of the Madras Sappers, came upon this Mud Fort fully garrisoned and well armed. The attack was most determined, as was the defence obstinate. It was bravely stormed, but with the consequence of Major Errington and several officers and men being severely wounded: Lieut. Ansley, with a small detachment of the 9th Madras N. I. shared in this contest; he was severely wounded

and the corps proved itself to be as good as it looks, and it is one of the nicest corps I have ever seen ; its gallantry and devotion on this occasion claiming the admiration of all who witnessed it. The whole affair was over a little after six o'clock.

“ While these operations had been going on, the Commodore had claimed the services of Captain Campbell of the *Sesostris*, and his men, in destroying a stockade on the opposite bank of the river. They drove off the Burmese, fired the stockade, and took six guns.

“ I am informed from several sources that the enemy suffered very severely in the contest in the Mud Fort.

“ In having the honour, as well as the gratification of reporting to the Governor-General in Council the possession of this important station, I will observe that, from every indication of preparations going on, the Government of this country intended to make it a most powerful place and to repair the loss of Rangoon by establishing Bassein as their mart of communication with this country, as well as a powerful position to keep in subjection the Pegu population, so decidedly and ever our friends, and also to maintain a threatening attitude towards the south of Arracan.

“ By leaving Bassein to itself, I should have been giving it back to the soldiery just driven out, as the defences had been built and put into the improved

state I have described, by five thousand men from the Upper Country, commanded by a man of reputation. To secure it, I have left a garrison of two companies (160 men) of the 51st L. I., and 300 men of the Madras N. I. These will be reinforced by an officer of Artillery and half a company with two 9-pounder guns. The garrison now possessing two 12-inch howitzers. These, with two months' rations, will leave this on or about the 26th instant. Major Roberts, of the 9th M. N. I., will proceed in the same vessel to take command of Bassein; he is an experienced and excellent officer.

"I consider that in a few weeks the Burmese soldiery of the Upper Country will have returned to their homes, meeting with no sympathy from the Pegu population, and the Pegu soldiers themselves are already with their families, so that the garrison I have left could, in a military point of view, be withdrawn in six weeks; and it will then remain with the Government of India to decide whether it will hold during the war this very important place. If so, further arrangements will be very necessary. Major Fraser, the Commanding Engineer, should visit it. A very little expense will make it a sure position. The barrack houses the soldiery are now in are excellent, and well built of wood. Fresh meat can be had, as the population of the place are coming under our protection in great numbers.

"I may here remark, that that most admirable

officer, and clear-seeing man, my most respected late Commander Sir A. Campbell, attached great importance to the holding of Bassein.

“After passing two clear days in arranging for the stability of the detachment to be left here, on the morning of the 22nd, the flotilla, with the exception of the *Sesostris*, which remains, weighed at day-break, and reached Rangoon on the 23rd May, after an absence of only seven days.

“To Commodore Lambert, and to this combined expedition, the Governor-General in Council owes all that professional ability and unremitting exertion could accomplish towards success to which they so largely contributed. The H. C.’s steamer *Proserpine*, Commander Brooking, arrived twenty-four hours after the place was taken, but even so his activity was not lost, for he and his vessel went off the morning before we weighed and destroyed the stockade that I have mentioned to have passed on the way up to the river.

“Major Errington, of H. M.’s 51st L. I., who commanded the detachment of troops embarked for Bassein, who principally directed this detachment, and who fought this detachment, deserves the particular thanks of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council. I have great pleasure in forwarding his report of the operations, for the perusal of his Lordship in Council.

“I beg the best consideration of Government for

Captain Rice, and Lieut. Carter, of the 51st L. I., and for Lieut. Ansley, of the 9th Madras N. I., all three severely wounded at the assault of the Fort, and also for Lieut. Ford, of the Sappers and Miners, on the same occasion, for Lieut. Rice, 1st of H. M.'s frigate *Fox*, who commanded the Naval Brigade, and who was severely wounded, whilst particularly distinguishing himself in the attack of the Fort.

“It has been brought to my notice that Mr. Duncan, the 2nd officer of the H. Co.'s steamer *Tenasserim*, at the head of a party of men of his ship, behaved most gallantly upon the same occasion.

“To Captain Darroch, of the 51st L. I., and to Captain Latter, my interpreter, thanks are due for their gallantry in forcing the traverse, and entering at the gate on the right of the enemy's position. Lieut. Craster, of the Bengal Engineers, also merits thanks; and the plan of Bassein, which I enclose for the Governor-General's inspection, will prove his professional competency. To Lieutenants Elliot and Nightingale, with the Marines of H. M.'s frigate *Fox*, and to Captain Campbell, of the H. C.'s steam frigate *Sesosiris*, I beg your Lordship in Council's kind consideration. To Doctor McCosh and the officers of the Medical Department, thanks are particularly due.

“The Naval part of the Expedition, both sailors and Marines, supported the character that has ever been theirs of undaunted courage.

“I have been considered wanting sometimes, in not more particularly naming corps or individuals, but in this peculiar warfare of constant assaults on well armed and strong positions, often well defended, it has been the noble emulation of all to be first into the enemy’s works. It was in such an effort of ambition that that fine and gallant young officer, Lieut. Doran, of the 18th R. I., fell pierced with four balls, far in advance of his proper post; indeed, I might fill my report with names, were all to be individualized.

“I now beg particularly to bring to the notice of the Governor-General in Council, Major Boulderson, of the Madras Army, the Deputy Judge-Advocate-General of the Force, who, on this occasion accompanied me and filled the two posts of Assistant-Adjutant and Assistant-Quartermaster-General to the expedition, as I could not move from their important duties at Rangoon, Adjutant-General Mayhew nor Quartermaster-General Allan.

“The Major has been of much essential service to me in various ways; and the judicious manner in which he posted the picquets after the capture of Bassein, in that wilderness of houses and jungle, tended to the perfect security of the force. Captain Chads, my Aide-de-camp, never leaves me, and always makes himself particularly useful.

“Since my last report, nothing worthy of note has occurred at Rangoon. The town is increasing in

importance by crowds of natives who daily come in with their families and goods; as is the case throughout the neighbourhood, but especially at Kemmendine, which is as large a place as Rangoon.

"The conduct of the troops is excellent, and their health is improving daily since the rain has set in.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "H. GODWIN, Lieut-General,
"Commanding the forces in Ava,
Arracan and Tenasserim Provinces.

"Head-Quarters, Rangoon, 24th May, 1852.

"To CHARLES ALLEN, Esq.

"Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign
Department, Fort William, Dated Head-
Quarters, Rangoon, 24th May, 1852."

Monday, May 24th. — Yesterday evening the General returned from Bassein. The town of Pegu is said to be occupied by a Burmese chief, who has been victorious over the Peguese. This morning a grand parade round the Shoé Dagoon Pagoda, with all the customary honours, celebrated her Majesty's birth-day. The effect was very grand and impressive.

It is supposed that the unfortunate ex-Governor of Rangoon, who was so nearly caught the other day by Colonel Apthorp, has been since captured and sent in chains to Ava. The same Mightiness

which a few months ago put the Line-Myoothor-Gee in irons for failing to re-capture the King's ship! What an example of the biter bit! Tomorrow Lieutenant Tayler, with a detachment of Artillery and two guns, proceeds to Bassein. Major Roberts, with the remainder of his regiment, likewise proceeds to take command of the new position.

May 31st.—Intelligence arrived this evening of an

ATTACK ON MARTABAN.

“ At about six o'clock on Wednesday morning last* a Burmese advanced force, consisting of about 600 men, under Moun-Bwosh, the Governor of Martaban, marched over the hill from the western side, made a sudden and unexpected rush upon the picquets guarding the heights, and were chased from their position into the camp. The alarm now being given, the troops were under arms and at their guns. Major Hall ordered the picquets at the Northern Pagoda into camp, and subsequently sent a strong party of sepoys, under the command of Lieutenant Holmes, to reconnoitre, under cover of the artillery-guns. The Burmese, however, advanced; a party of about 1,000 kept near the small White Pagoda below the hill; another of about 2,000 lay a mile away in reserve, while a smaller force kept up a smart fire on the troops at the distance of about 150 yards north of the camp. The

* The 26th inst.

party under Lieutenant Holmes was placed in a very perilous situation; but that officer succeeded in returning to camp with, however, serious loss in three killed and eleven wounded, of whom eight are dangerously so, a subadar of the 40th N. I. being of the number of the latter. The Artillery now played with the most deadly effect, and the report of heavy guns at Martaban caused the alarm to be sounded in cantonments here. The two companies of H. M.'s 51st L. I. and 26th N. I. got under arms; the former were marched off at once, embarked in boats, and proceeded to Martaban. The *Feroze*, from her position opposite the office of Messrs. Graceman and Co., a distance of three and a half miles from the White Pagoda on the hill, sent discharges of artillery which made the Burmese seek a more distant point of protection, and defaced the beauty of their Pagoda. The strength of the Burmese was now seriously weakened, and the reserved forces obliged to be brought up to the rescue. These were also reduced in number, for the attack being in open day, and not as hitherto at night, their position and numbers were ascertained and dealt with accordingly. A body of men entrenched themselves behind a small white Pagoda, near their former storehouse or magazine, and hoisted a flag on it, which, being observed by Lieutenants Steuart and Baird, became a mark at once. The flag on the first shot was sent down in tatters, the summit

of the Pagoda keeping it company. The Burmese now found themselves uncomfortably situated here, the guns being fired in this direction until the glacis of the hill was cleared. From this time until late in the evening shots were fired at intervals to clear the place of stragglers.

“Commodore Lynch, on delivering his instructions to his second in command, manned his three cutters, and proceeded up the Salween to intercept the flight of the Burmese. He found them scattered at the third Pagoda, now repairing, north of the camp, and ordered his boats to open fire upon them with shell and cannister, which made them scamper away as fast as their legs could carry them, but from the frying-pan into the fire. The Infantry met them as they were taking to their heels, and opened raking fire upon them. Captain Tapley, on the other hand, with his own cutter, and one from the *Medusa*, manned by marines from the *Feroze*, went in a south-westerly direction, but failed to meet the enemy. The boats returned on the same evening, and proceeded up again yesterday morning.

“We understand that the Burmese force was commanded by the notorious Dacoit chief and robber MOUNG SHOAY-LOANG, and that he had been sent from Ava to retake Martaban, or forfeit his head in case of failure. Wednesday last was, according to the guardian angels of MOUNG SHOAY-LOANG, con-

sidered the lucky day for the exploit; but with what success has been seen." *

BURMESE GAMES.

A few words about the games among Talains and Burmese may now be interesting. The principal are cock-fighting, buffalo-fighting, foot-ball, and boat-racing. They have likewise a sort of dice to aid their gambling propensities. At the buffalo-fights men sit on the beasts; these last rush at each other with tremendous fury. Frequently the horns become locked together, when a trial of strength ensues, each pushing his adversary as far back as possible. The buffaloes, after a short contest, generally become tired of the sport, and not unfrequently scamper away at a furious rate from their tormentors. The buffalo is seldom killed; but the rider is often thrown. The game is every bit as *rational* as the bull-fights so extensively patronized by the ladies of Spain, and to many it is certainly quite as exciting. Foot-ball is played with a small ball of wicker-work—very light of course. The players form a circle, and keep up the ball with remarkable skill: with knee or foot they send it flying in every direction, as if they were perfect masters in the law of projectiles. In boat-racing the Burmese shine considerably. Boats very long, and very narrow, with some twenty rowers on a

* *Moulmein Times*, May 28th.

side, and paddled along at an incredible speed. Singing and a variety of gestures aid the effect of this exciting amusement. The Burmese posture of defiance is common in the pleasure as well as in the war boats. The latter are generally ornamented, and armed with some thirty men or so, carrying questionable muskets, but sharp dhas. A national game, of minor importance, is a sort of draughts. The players commence by drawing squares on the ground, and seated occasionally in a state of profound abstraction before a move, they play away with a gravity worthy of the great Gaudama himself. The Burmese enjoy a game at cards quite as much as the old ladies of England. They are fond of music and very superstitious: many of them believe in fairies. The instrument of sound used is a sort of *harmonicon*, which discourses most eloquent music either to the adventurer on his rambles, or to the Burmese beauty as she sits, like many of those in our own country, pensive and alone. Men and women, in every clime, are both poets and musicians by nature. In the melody or modulation of sound there is a wonderful power, which, "partly from nature, partly from habit and association, makes such pathetic impressions on the fancy, as delights even the most wild barbarians. The Burmese are likewise fond of dancing, when they frequently display their skill in the dress of devils."

We shall conclude this chapter with the description* of a Burmese funeral.

“Returning from Kemmendine in the evening, we saw a Burmese funeral-procession following the remains of an old woman. Women and children attended as well as men, and three priests brought up the rear. The corpse is placed in a coffin made of matting, and is carried by four men. Old women were howling in a most disconsolate manner. On reaching the burial-ground the Phoongees came forward, and took up their position on a raised platform at the head of the grave. Before the priests were placed three large dishes of plantains, dried fish, &c. Pieces of wood were put across the grave, and the coffin rested on them. The men then kneeled round the priests, and the women and children formed an outer semicircle. A Phoongee then repeated a few prayers, to which the men responded. Then a long prayer was said, and while the priest was speaking a man was pouring water slowly on the ground from a small earthenware vessel. This finished the ceremony, and the Phoongees, having had their provisions carefully collected, departed. The old woman was then taken from the coffin and buried. Buddhists, it must be remembered, *bury* as well as burn. Pouring the water from the earthen vessel is to signify the spirit departing from the body.”

* Furnished us by Lieutenant Cadell of the Bengal Artillery.

CHAPTER XIII.

PEGU.—PROME.—THE GRAND QUESTION.

DURING the first fortnight of May the Peguese had risen in considerable strength against the Burmese, and had turned them out of their towns and villages. At the end of the same month we find the case reversed; and the town of Pegu again in the hands of a Burmese chieftain. Regarding the Peguese already in the light of allies, it was natural to expect that an expedition from our Force would shortly pay their ancient capital a visit. Pegu was reduced by Alompra, after his conquest of Burmah's rival kingdom, to a state of comparative ruin and desolation.

The Conqueror spared the temples, among others, the magnificent *Shoé-madoo Praw*, or Temple of the Golden Supreme.*

Conciliation was attempted. But every endeavour to conciliate the Peguese by Burmese strategy

* Appendix, No. VIII.

signally failed. What they sought for was what they seek at the present day—either independence, or a good system of government, by the people of a nation wiser and more civilized than themselves. With the former, in its strict sense, every half-civilized people must now go back in the scale; with the latter they must advance, and add their portion of lustre to the triumphant light which shall, sooner or later, dwell upon earth.

The town of Pegu is situated some seventy-five miles nearly north from Rangoon, to which it is far inferior as a commercial position. On the 2nd of June an expedition was ready to start for Pegu. The party consisted of two Companies of H. M.'s 80th, and two Companies of the 67th B. N. I., the whole under Colonel Sturt, of the latter corps. As many as could be stowed were placed on board the *Phlegethon*; the remainder were put in country boats, to be towed. But it was soon discovered that the boats were not sea-worthy. The troops could not proceed to Pegu that day; so all were marched back to quarters. On the following morning the expedition, considerably reduced in size, made a successful start. It now consisted of one Company of H. M. 80th Foot,* the Rifle Company of the 67th B. N. I., under Captain Hicks, and a detachment of Madras Sappers and Miners, under Lieutenant Macintosh, with Lieutenant Mayne, as

* We believe commanded by Captain Ormsby.

Field Engineer; the whole commanded by Brevet-Major Cotton, of the 67th Regiment. This force was accompanied by a small party of the marines and sailors from the *Fox*, *Phlegethon*, and *Medusa*, under the command of Captain Niblett, of the *Phlegethon*, and Commander Tarleton, of H. M. S. *Fox*. All embarked on board the *Phlegethon* steamer, which took in tow the boats of the squadron.

Of course our "Chevalier Bayard,"* Captain Latter, accompanied the expedition. By nightfall the steamer had reached within sixteen miles of Pegu, where she anchored. From the narrowness and shallowness of the river it was not considered safe to proceed farther. The only thing worth observing that took place on the passage was that several large villages, as the expedition came in view, assembled all their inhabitants on the banks of the river, and cheered and waved their hands towards Pegu! "Let the British standard be planted on the walls of Pegu!"

On anchoring for the night, information was brought off that a party of Peguese, on the right bank of the stream, under a chief named *Mountah*, had risen and defeated, the day before, a detachment of the Burmese garrison, under an officer named *Manykyairck*, and that they had proceeded along the bank of the river, intending to co-operate with us in the attack on Pegu.

* Sans peur et sans reproche.

The allies were to be distinguished by wearing a small white flag in the cap.

Next morning the whole party took to the boats, and proceeded leisurely up to Pegu, a short distance from which Moungtah and his Peguese band made their appearance. These were directed, in case of accident, during our operations, to keep at a distance till required. However, as heavy firing was heard on the right bank of the river, between the Peguese and the Burmese, the troops immediately landed. A few of the enemy only were to be seen, retreating as fast as they could. The boats and naval party, under Commander Tarleton, were directed to proceed farther up the river, to cut off the retreat of the enemy who might attempt to pass across. However, seeing a party of the enemy on the left bank, on which the town of Pegu is situated, Commander Tarleton landed the whole of his party, except the boat-keepers, and proceeded to disperse them. Having advanced some distance, a body of Burmese, seeing the unguarded state of the boats, pounced upon them, and took possession. Fortunately the Burmese were more anxious to plunder than to destroy the boats.

As Commander Tarleton and his party were returning to their boats they were fired upon from jungle growing upon old and ruined walls. The little party gallantly turned to the assault, and entered the work by a large gap or gateway, which

was not fortified. There were not more than forty shots fired by the enemy, who fled before the steady fire of the Naval force with the utmost precipitation. Seven Burmese only were shot down. It was on entering this gap that a correct view of the future scene of operations was obtained. Within these ruined walls was an open area of about four miles in length; nearly in the centre a lofty pagoda, with much jungle at its base. The enemy also appeared in considerably larger force than was expected. Commander Tarleton, accordingly, prudently determined to hold the gap, and to send notice to the troops under Major Cotton, on the opposite bank. These were on their return, having heard that the boats were in the possession of the enemy. In the meantime Commander Tarleton likewise heard of the same circumstance; and that gallant officer immediately returned with his men to the scene of disembarkation. Thus, the sailors coming down on the one bank and the soldiers on the other, the boats were immediately recaptured, with the loss of two riflemen wounded.

It being now about ten o'clock A.M., the sun was very powerful; and the men having passed over a large extent of ground, Major Cotton prudently determined on postponing the attack on the Pagoda till three P.M. By that time the men would have rested, and enjoyed their rations. The gallant Major took up an admirable position with the Rifles in front

inside the ruined walls, sheltered by the jungle covering them, and commanding a clear view of any movements from the Pagoda. The European portion of the force put up in the few huts that remained about one hundred yards in the rear on the bank of the river; the sailors occupied the boats. About one P.M., however, the enemy, apparently emboldened by what seemed to be inactivity, and perhaps by the *loot* (spoil) from the boats, which had been taken to the Pagoda, were seen coming down about fourteen hundred strong, in something like order, commanded by some thirty chiefs, on ponies. Another account says, there were 1,200 men, some mounted, and carrying umbrellas over their chiefs, besides which there were regular horsemen, who, while they rode, sung a kind of vaunting song. The alarm being sounded, the Rifles immediately rushed out, and held the enemy in check. On the native troops being joined by the European soldiers and sailors the enemy immediately fled; and so precipitate was their retreat, that not a single Burmese was touched even by the long shots of the rifles. The advance of our small and gallant party was now so rapid that they seemed as if by magic, in one instant, to rush up the west and south faces of the Pagoda, killing a few of the enemy, and suffering no loss whatsoever themselves.

A stronger party, under Mr. Midshipman L——, was now left in the boats; and Captain Latter was

directed to remain for their further safety with the Peguese on the banks. The next day was spent in destroying the granaries, and carrying off nine guns; and, on the following morning, the whole party returned to the steamer. The entire loss of the British on this occasion was one European sailor killed, and two wounded, in the occupation of the boats by the enemy. One sailor was wounded in the assault on the gap, under Commander Tarleton; and two riflemen were wounded on our recapture of the boats. The loss of the Burmese could scarcely be estimated, from the best information, at more than one score.

Thus was the old town of Pegu captured. It was not occupied by the British, but made over to the Talains—a political step, on which it is rather difficult to form an opinion, after an earnest request from the Peguese for the expulsion of their oppressors.* It is to be hoped, however, they will defend their own persons, if they cannot keep their towns, till Pegu comes forth in greater beauty than

* The following was published about the middle of June :—
“ The British troops stormed the Pagoda at Pegu, after some heavy skirmishing on the 4th, with a loss of one seaman killed; three seamen, two sepoys, and one camp-follower wounded. The Force, after destroying the fortifications, returned to Rangoon on the 5th. Everything quiet round Bassein. The enemy had left the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants were coming in numbers to seek protection under

ever, under an enlightened rule. The month of June in this narrative becomes celebrated by the achievements of the H. C.'s gallant little steamer *Proserpine*, under Captain Brooking, in the Irrawaddy. She was sent up the Irrawaddy, and made good her way, before the middle of the month, without serious opposition, to where that river divides itself, like the two prongs of a fork; or, say eighty miles below Prome. All that portion of the river below this point was thus surveyed. At the point where the Irrawaddy divides into two streams, and above which there is no other outlet, to the sea, we may be said to command the navigation of the great river. Captain Brooking, with the *Proserpine*, succeeded immediately after in exploring the Irrawaddy to within thirty miles of Prome, having thus penetrated into the very heart of the enemy's country, and, with the assistance of two well-armed boats, of H. M. S. *Fox*, having captured and destroyed eighty boats of grain, of thirty tons each. The rice in these boats was destined for the Burmese army assembling at Prome, and its loss at such a crisis was, of course, severely felt. An intelligent writer remarks that—"It is a proud thing to reflect upon this little English vessel alone, in the midst of enemies and of an enemy's country, performing its our rule. The troops were all very healthy. Soon after our troops left the old town of Pegu, the Burmese came down in a body of 3,000 or 4,000 strong, and drove out the Peguese."

duties as unconcernedly as if it was on the Thames, and taking and destroying the Burmese Commissariat in their very teeth."

The *Proserpine*, on her voyage, did not escape being fired on: and, about the end of the month, intelligence reached us at Rangoon of a brilliant little affair against a stockade, which she silenced and destroyed, after expending all her ammunition. This position was, most probably, held by a strong band of dacoits, who roam like firebrands through the country, ready to espouse any successful side, but, until opportunity turns up, destroying everything that comes in their way. Similar lawless vagabonds infest the Nizam's dominions in the Deccan. But this "Jolly June," as Spenser calls the month, had its peaceful as well as its warlike triumphs; the former, of course, at Rangoon. An elegant theatre was being erected for the entertainment of officers and men; and the Rev. Mr. Burney's reading and lecture room was very well attended. This excellent chaplain arrived from Calcutta early in May; and his frequent visits to the hospitals, combined with his admirable expositions of pious and homely truths to the men on a Sunday, effect immense good.* His idea of getting up instructive lectures for the men, to be delivered once or twice on the week days, was a good one.

* This exemplary man died some weeks later of cholera, a victim to his own unwearied attendance upon the sick.

Already large audiences of British soldiers have been enlightened with a graphic sketch of the rise of European traffic in Burmah to its decline, with various information regarding the country. They have likewise, we believe, been favoured by Mr. Kincaid—alluded to in the second chapter of this narrative—with a lecture on Buddha, which one would imagine to be rather above their comprehension. When the author of this work was lately in England a well-educated man took him into a corner one evening, and said, with a solemn face,—“Now tell me, what does Buddha mean? Who *was* Buddha?” A very natural question, and one of so puzzling a character, that we were obliged to leave it to such men as Colonel Sykes and Professor Wilson to fairly answer.*

Yes, with all their erudition and vast research, notwithstanding the immortal labours of Sir W. Jones, Vans, Kennedy, Coleman, Colebrooke, Remusat, Manupied, and a host of others, men will be enquiring, in a generation yet to come—Who *was* Buddha?

Mr. Kincaid, on his return from Moulmein, recovered but a very small portion of his valuable books lost in the “Flight.” Lexicons and dictionaries, letters and manuscripts, were no where to be found. This zealous missionary appears to be a man of no ordinary stamp, judging by all we have

* For a description of Buddha see Appendix.

heard of him from officers of the Force and others. Having resided some twenty years in Burmah he has amassed a vast quantity of information concerning the people and the country. His work of proselytism has been wonderfully successful. We believe he has twice visited the city of Ava ; and on one or more occasions experienced ill-treatment. If the truth were known, we dare say this American missionary has really been, like many before him, and like many at the present time, "in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils among false brethren." Thinking seriously on the matter, there is something to greatly admire in those devoted men and women who labour in a distant land, consecrating their whole lives to an obedience to the Divine mandate, published by the Great Captain of our Salvation—"Go and preach the Gospel to every creature!" There can be little doubt that the missionaries stand forth as the pioneers of civilization in Burmah. Regarding the missionary enterprise in a political point of view two things are requisite, above all others, MODERATION AND PATIENCE!—with these the grand cause must flourish—without them there can be no satisfactory result. And, musing carefully over the respective creeds of Brahmanism and Buddhism, very many may be apt to believe that the latter presents the easiest field for missionary labour; and, consequently, the chance of success must be greater.

Mr. Burney's father was the late Resident at the Court of Ava, Colonel Burney, who, when the Burmese Government would have a Resident no longer, was yet requested by the King to stay as a friend.

During the month of June, Captain Impey, who has already figured *in fiction* in this narrative, was quietly residing at Bangkok, in Siam, under the assumed name of George Aylmer. At first he was reported to be drilling the King of Siam's troops; but he was really there in the peaceful capacity of a merchant. The adventurous Captain "hoped to be appointed agent to the Singapore merchants at the capital of Siam."

From the throne *Amarinwinichai-Mahaisuriyaphe-man*, great improvements are now expected in the government of Siam. The policy of exclusiveness is said to be, at length, abandoned; and the Siamese King has taken to free trade, after a fashion, which is as necessary to the welfare of his kingdom, as to his own preservation. He has forbidden his own subjects the use of opium, and has made a vigorous effort to extend the commerce of his country.

The following is interesting regarding a curious people, the "Karens," Deists, who occupy "the various mountainous and difficult tracts throughout Burmah, Pegu, the Tenasserim coast, and parts of the Shan and Siamese countries." The "second section of the great Karen tribe, which in Burmah

has embraced Christianity by themselves, and is rapidly being organized into a nation, resides in Siam." *

There is evidently a great change operating in the Siamese character. The pride of this nation has been described by some author of note, as so excessive, that the lowest Siamese considered himself superior to the greatest subject of any other nation. In their literature, as with the Burmese, they have nothing to enforce upon them the folly of extreme pride.

During this month, the Madras Artillery sustained a severe loss by the death of that excellent officer, Major Hugh Montgomery.

We shall take farewell of June with simply alluding to one melancholy event. The wife of the gallant officer, who fell at the storming of Rangoon, came hither in the *Fire Queen* to shed a tear over her husband's grave.

By the commencement of July, Rangoon was a flourishing town, with some sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants. People to be seen of nearly every creed, and of every Asiatic nation. Of course, it was to be expected that among this numerous population lurked many men of questionable character. There was the slippery dacoit, who had come to try his hand, perhaps, upon a commissariat bullock; there was the wily gambler who had come to cheat

* *Friend of India.*

those who had money about them ; there was a spy or two who had just dropped in to look quietly at the state of affairs, and see whether our gallant General was on the *qui vive* or not ; but the majority consisted of those who were driven by hunger to flee from Burmese oppression, and who now rejoiced to live in certain security, under British protection ! Was it not for this, Providence sent us here ? Is not the Indian Government working out its grand destiny ? Near the beach is an immense bazaar, where fish, fruit, meat, and vegetables are sold. The vendors are women, old and young. There were on several occasions, pine-apples, plantains, and mangoes in abundance, for sale ; also pumpkins and cucumbers. The bekties and mangoe fish are, generally speaking, very inferior to what we get in India.

And, in addition to the necessities of life, many articles of luxury were now procurable in Rangoon. Justice breathed under the vigilant magistracy of Captain Latter ; and, on the whole, civilization here seemed in a fair way of taking root.

From such a point of prosperity in our narrative we pass on to the middle of July, when the welcome intelligence arrived of the success of an expedition of steamers which had been despatched up the Irrawaddy.

The Flotilla was under Commander Tarleton, R.N. ; and the steamers employed were the *Proserpine*, *Pluto*, *Phlegethon*, *Medusa*, and *Mahanuddy*.

Prome had been circumvented; the enemy's war-boats had been destroyed, and the Burmese put to flight, with the loss of forty guns. "It is all up with the army!" said many. "There will be no medal for Prome!" said a few. The wise said nothing; although it did certainly seem that James Watt had taken more than his share of the glory. The question of "Could not the General ere this have taken troops sufficient to Prome in the steamers and rafts?" or, "Could he not have taken two thousand men, and at once have occupied Prome on this occasion?" might be answered in various ways; one of which might be assumed to be, "It would have been impolitic to have denuded Rangoon of troops, at such a period of the war, without the chance of immediate reinforcements." Another, "Why occupy Prome immediately, when the wishes of Government are not known on the subject of annexation?" and another, "Why should the men be exposed at such a season as this, with the chance of, on their arrival at Prome, finding all the houses burned to the ground, and the ancient boundary between Pegu and Burmah utterly destroyed?"

The object of the expedition to Burmah was described by Lord Derby, in the House of Lords,* as follows:—"To strike a blow against Rangoon and Martaban, which by striking terror into the minds of the Burmese, and by showing the efficiency of our

* 5th of April, 1852.

forces, would induce them to make peace on terms honourable to the British Government." Far more than this had been done. Bassein had been captured, and various minor successes had attended our arms; and then the Burmese kept silence, while the Peguese seemed everywhere to desire our protection and government; yet peace did not come from the Court of Ava! With the golden-footed King, or his vile and dissolute advisers, she did not dwell!

All this would naturally tend to place the British Commander in a difficult position. Be this as it may, many thought Commander Tarleton had done a very fine thing. The General, just returned from a tour of inspection, was astonished at the event which had humiliated Prome, for a time.

The following description of the affair was eventually delivered by electric telegraph in Calcutta, when the *Fire Queen* came within telegraphic range of the City of Palaces:—"Prome was occupied on the 9th July. Twenty-two guns, many of large calibre, taken from the enemy by the steam flotilla in the Irrawaddy, under the command of J. W. Tarleton, R. N. Flotilla attacked on the 7th by a strong force of the enemy at Konongee. Silenced enemy's fire in an hour, and the steamers proceeded. On the 10th, fell in with the rear of General Bundoola's army, and, after an exchange of shots, the enemy fled in great confusion, leaving the General's state-barge, standard, two gold umbrellas, several

large war-canoes, and twenty prisoners in our possession." A few officers were wounded,* and, on the whole twenty-eight guns were taken; twenty-nine, by another account, and among them one forty-two pounder, and a fifty-four. Commander Tarleton, we believe, went through what may be styled the eastern channel, passing the Burmese who were drawn up in force, not on the island, but on the left bank of the river. This movement almost paralyzed the enemy; and as our steamers were returning, war-boats were sent out to intercept their progress. Then commenced the work of destruction and capture which terminated this brilliant little affair. Strange enough, in almost deserted Prome, some inhabitants who sought our protection assisted the men in finding the guns. A poor Burmese, or Peguese labourer, on being asked by one of our officers why he acted thus, replied, "Because we are perishing under this Government; no security for person, no security for property. If a man is possessed of five rupees to-day, and it becomes known, he is robbed of it by the greedy authorities to-morrow." No person in Burmah "ventures to exhibit his wealth by enjoying it, for means of extortion would soon be used to deprive him of it."

The people are fleeced by these governors, who

* According to this report, Lieutenant Elliot, Rl. M., Mr. J. Morgan, assist.-surgeon, H. M. S. *Fox*, Mr. Hunter, I. N., and Mr. Brayer, mate, I. N.

are delegated by the King to rule over them for a high consideration. And of course the chief object is to drain the coffers of their helpless charge by a system of oppression.

Can it be otherwise, than that this people shall wish the dynasty of Alompra at an end? The dog has had his day, he has earned a bad name, so hang him. This is the age of social progress and enlightenment, and all such vile instruments of government must be swept away. What should such creatures as these do "crawling between earth and heaven?" The grand question which now arises is, "Will it be wise and politic in our Government to annex the country to our eastern domain?" We are inclined to answer in the affirmative. It will, we think, be both wise and politic to absorb Burmah, and place the worthless king on the list of pensioners. The country deserves care and trouble; let us dispense the blessings of security and civilization, and ensure wealth and prosperity to a wide-spread and interesting people, whose domestic morals we may reform in the course of time, the vast and rich resources of whose country we shall be able to evolve for their own benefit as well as that of mankind at large. The Burmese would not require a great effort to be tamed under the paw of the British lion, and would form the most formidable barrier between our own and the Chinese empire. Another view advocates the annexation of the king-

dom of Pegu only to the British possessions in the East. This would humiliate the court of Ava, by taking away its best provinces, and would relieve the Peguese from tyranny and oppression.* And many Burmese would soon come under our protection. At the close of the last war numbers of Burmese expatriated themselves; they availed themselves of a time and opportunity for emancipation from tyranny, flocked into the Tenasserim Provinces, "and formed the nucleus of their future prosperity."

The reader may now naturally inquire if any jealousy exists between the Talains and Burmese? Not nearly so much as might be expected.

They are both of the Tartar race,† and each has been independent in its turn; neither of them is affected by caste: and excepting a little jealousy which exists between the high Poongees, or priests, of the Burmese and Talains—said simply to have reference to temporal dignity and position, without a tendency to produce schism—there is not more envy than we observe every day between any two men of a different trade or country. The question remains open whether "the independent sea-board power of Pegu or the comparatively land-locked

* *Moulmein Times*, June 25.

† This is of course an assumption; the people of further India are supposed by Mr. Crawford to be *radically distinct from any other Asiatic race*.

kingdom of Ava were most likely to have first received the missionaries of Buddhism."* The Tenasserim Provinces have yielded no actual surplus revenue to British India. They have, on the contrary, cost us a few thousands a year. And why? Because at the close of the last war we occupied a country which could never be made to pay its expenses. We occupied this and the swamps of Arracan, while the once glorious kingdom of Pegu stretched out its arms to receive us! The Tenasserim Provinces have never paid their expenses; but, says the *Friend of India*, taking his own view of the annexation question, "This is no reason why the rich province of Pegu, with its inexhaustible forests of teak, its fertile soil, its noble rivers, its mineral resources, and its industrious population, should not, under the impulse of improvement—which we shall not fail to impart to it—more than cover the whole expense of its occupation. Nor must we forget that we secure, at the same time, four or five millions of consumers of our manufactures—that is, according to the extent of territory we may appropriate—and open new marts of commerce." Rangoon, at no very distant period, would become the Liverpool or Glasgow of further India. Immense traffic would naturally crown such an admirable commercial position, and the woods, grain, oils and minerals of

* *Calcutta Review*.

Pegu, with its various other commodities, would be diffused throughout the civilized world.

And why should not this be brought about? The entire people of Southern Burmah seeking our rule, Rangoon and Kemmendine filled with inhabitants, the Peguese, according to General Godwin, "decidedly and ever our friends," what can we seek more? Or, it may be better to say, what need we wish more, when we shall have invested and occupied Prome by British troops? A consummation, doubtless, near at hand! "From Prome to the Aeng Pass on one side," writes an authority, "and to Martaban, taking the Sitang River as the boundary on the other, would give us the whole seaboard, and Pegu in its integrity, whilst it would still leave a noble territory to the Court of Ava, larger than, for the interests of the people, it ought to possess." So much confidence, General Godwin appears to have in the Peguese, that he is said to have stated at Rangoon, "if he had the authority to promise annexation, he would levy a militia of these fellows, and go with them and a portion of our force, to Prome at once."

The *Phlegethon*, under Captain Niblett, took a trip to Donabew in May. No fortifications were found there, merely the town, and the remains of the work destroyed in the last war.

The General Bundoola, whose name has appeared, while narrating the temporary capture of

Prome by Commander Tarleton, was the son of our gallant and determined enemy during the last war, who said, not long before his death at Donabew, that the English did not know how to fight, and that he would take the British General in chains to Ava! The report for some time had been rife at Rangoon that Bundoola junior was coming down to make a grand stand. He had forty thousand of the King of Ava's chosen troops with him, goodly men and true.

Probably the Golden Foot thought that the name of Bundoola would act like magic on the people. Such is well enough in France, perhaps, but it will not do in Asiatic countries. The master-mind was wanting. Bundoola proved himself, on the occasion referred to, to be a disgrace to his father's name; he fled bodily, probably to drown his misfortune in dissipation, to which, report says, the would-be Bundoola the Great is very much addicted.

But this may be too rash a conclusion, for we may have to encounter him yet! However, there is not much to fear. The East Indian Government are working out a grand destiny. Providence seems to have ordained that they should "go forth conquering and to conquer." To advance is life—to retire is death. Such assurances ably cheer the onward march of civilization.

To review the affairs of a mighty government, there must be no prejudice, no feelings of revenge; there

must be amplitude of comprehension and an intimate acquaintance with the subject. Without these, a fair and candid judgment can never be passed on civil or military affairs. Thoughts like these are apt to crowd upon the mind at a time when India is about to occupy a greater share of public attention than ever; at a time when a natural desire exists among so many that justice may be done to India, and to the Honourable East India Company. It was highly pleasing to read the speech delivered by the first Minister of the Crown on Friday, the 2nd of April. Justice was then done to the Company, which, "from an humble origin, established in a comparatively short period, the mightiest empire under the sun, redeeming any errors of rapacity and lust in its early stages by the wise government and enlightened humanity by which, in later times, it had achieved a dominion absolute and uncontrolled, whether by the direct exercise of its authority, or by an influence not less absolute than actual authority, over a district of country extending from Cape Comorin on the south, to the borders of Burmah, of Cashmere, Cabul, and Affghanistan on the north, and embracing, I think, something like 28° of latitude (cheers); a vast district inhabited by a population which I believe I am within the mark when I set down at 150,000,000, exercising its authority over a population of various races, and of various religions, who have been often in hostility to each

other, but who now, conquerors and conquered, agree to submit to the jurisdiction of a comparatively small body of Europeans; a company which has secured its power, not so much by the sword as by the wisdom of its councillors; which has seen succumb to it, one after another, the mightiest monarchies of India, and which, without any attempt at conquest—nay, contrary to its wish—has seen the populations of those monarchies gradually freeing themselves, under the protection of its authority. It was not less extraordinary that this vast empire should be maintained by an army of 285,000 men, composed mainly of natives, every variety of religion and grades, equally loyal to their conquerors. It was a task of magnitude to investigate the machinery by which this great territory was superintended."

With reference again to the grand question, Whether Prome, or Amerapoora, would be on the northern boundary of our grasp, a highly intelligent officer writes, "Why, here is a country, the conquest of which would cost comparatively a small outlay of men and money, of much greater value to us than the Punjaub, as a maritime and commercial people, from its geographical superiority and advantages, to say nothing of its productions which are of the most remarkable kind." Thus is the matter looked upon in the light of a commercial necessity.

Some talk of Ava and Prome making "convenient appendages" to Calcutta, "rounding off"

our possessions in the East. And once having moved inland it will be difficult to stop short of the Sea of China.* “No fear of our Empire,” says a bold son of Progress, “falling to pieces from its own size, were it extended from the Caspian to the Wall of China, *so long as the country is rich enough to meet its own charges*, and is possessed of a defensible frontier.”

At present, what a wonderful object of contemplation is our Indian Government! One hundred and fifty millions of the human race to govern! Including Arracan, the Burmese empire was stated many years ago to contain seventeen millions of souls. It now cannot be less than twenty millions. So, should we become eventually possessed of the inheritance of the House of Alompra, the Indian Government will exercise their authority over little less than one-fifth of the whole human family! The Tenasserim Provinces, at present, contain about 150,000 souls—a thin population for an area which has been set down at 30,000 square miles.

On Tuesday, the 27th of July, the Governor-General of India arrived at Rangoon, in the Company's steam-frigate *Feroze*.

Welcome intelligence, at the same time, came from

* “The peninsula is scarcely a thousand miles across, and is penetrated by noble rivers, from north to south and from east to west—and we could advance from both shores, were we so inclined.”

England, that the fall of Rangoon and Martaban had drawn forth a feeling of unqualified admiration of the skill and courage of our troops. Soon after his arrival in the river General Godwin and Commodore Lambert paid Lord Dalhousie a visit. The weather was by no means auspicious for such an important event as the arrival of the head of the Indian Government on these shores. The day was rainy, and dark, and dreary-looking, as if it were determined to repel the message of light to Burmah. But, as usual at this season, it cleared up in the afternoon; and everything around seemed bright and beautiful. Next morning there was a grand parade, in honour of the Governor-General; the time he had appointed for landing was seven o'clock. Punctual, as usual, the Noble Marquis landed; and, entering the stockade, passed through the street, lined with troops to the south gate of the great Pagoda. H. M. 18th Royal Irish furnished the guard of honour below, and the Artillery, of course, furnished its guard of honour* above, on the upper terrace. What with the various salutes—the shipping having thundered away in the river, and the Artillery in the upper terrace—and the general excitement, there was a temporary relief from our rather monotonous life at Rangoon. Music, too, welcome music, was now to be heard. The Governor-General was accompanied on his visit by Major Banks, acting as Military

* Under Captain Cooke, Madras Artillery.

Secretary, Mr. Charles Allen, Foreign Secretary, his Aides-de-camp, Sir Edward Campbell, Captain D'Oyley, and others. He was received, on reaching the base of the great Pagoda, by Colonel Ford, the Artillery Commandant, who introduced Major Back and Brigade-Major Scott to his Lordship.

The illustrious party wandered round the Temple, of course wondering and admiring. "I am astonished how your men got in here, with such defences!" remarked the Governor-General, who was also pleased to express his high approbation of the soldier-like appearance of the Artillery guard of honour. The quaint-looking houses of some of the officers, on the upper terrace, must have excited the attention of the strange party: nor could they have been less astonished at the bells, huge, and now dumb, monsters of sound; and the splendid view of the country and river from the parapets.

While the Governor-General was residing at Rangoon, of course the curiosity of every one was excited to the utmost. What was going to be done? Would there be now an immediate advance on Prome, to follow up the recent successful achievement?—when immediate annexation would doubtless follow.

On the arrival of reinforcements a force will be sent through the Aeng Pass into the basin of the

Irrawaddy, to cut off all communication between Ava and Prome. A force will also proceed from Martaban up the Sitang river; and the principal force will start from Rangoon in the steamers. There will be no bullocks to destroy the efficiency of the Artillery, and delay the army in its onward progress. The rivers in October and November will have water sufficient for steamers of considerable size to proceed up with perfect safety. "There are steamers enough to take an army to Ava, without wetting the sole of a man's foot." All these remarks became current during the stay of the Governor-General at Rangoon.

But, with regard to *marching*, no one could pretend to give an exact opinion as to the intentions of General Godwin. To conquer a country thoroughly you must *march* through it; there must be no rebels hanging on your rear. This is a general view of the custom of war. With a river possessing such capabilities as the Irrawaddy much steaming, however, to save marching through an injurious and swampy soil, one would imagine to have every chance of greatly facilitating the operations, and of bringing the campaign to a brilliant and glorious termination. To use the steamers as much as possible may be yet the intention of our gallant General. The *Pluto*, in July, anchored off Prome, in eight fathoms water. Cox and Crawford both mention that the rise of the Irrawaddy at Prome is from twenty to

twenty-five feet, and that large vessels* have been built there.

Our steamers give us the entire command of the Irrawaddy below Prome—"in fact, of the whole of the Lower Provinces." Steam would soon render Pegu truly British in character; and, with its auxiliary, the Press, it might soon form the nucleus of civilization in a new land, which would be sure to flourish under a wise and liberal Government. After holding a levee the Governor-General left Rangoon on Sunday, the 1st of August, much pleased with his visit. It is believed he waits instructions from England, which could not be received before the end of September; so, on the great question, we were left in the dark as much as ever. It was not decided on whether we should take the entire Burmese Empire, or simply unite the two disjointed provinces of Arracan and Moulmein, by annexing the intermediate Delta of the Irrawaddy.

Why should not this at least be done while America is endeavouring to humble the Empire of Japan?

Before this work is published in England it is not improbable that much good work will be effected in India beyond the Ganges. And now, to close this humble narrative:†—The town is flourishing beyond

* Of from 300 to 500 tons burthen.

† The expense of the present Burmese war, up to the 1st of July, has been set down by one journal in Calcutta at fifty

all possibility of conception. In the last war Rangoon had but few tenants. It was peopled chiefly by the army and its followers. When we landed in April last the town was almost deserted. Now the case is entirely changed; the people place confidence in us, and rush to seek our protection. Should we soon advance a grand success will inevitably be achieved. This time, it is not probable that cunning Burmese diplomacy will be allowed to have a hand in the business. There will be no time for an interchange of *civilities* now.

The Burmese are crafty; but the British are earnest in a good cause. There will be no Dr. Jonathan Price, excellent man as he was, rushing backwards and forwards to Ava, bringing doubtful intelligence, and only a portion of the treasure at a time. There will be no deputations to the King to present gifts of state. When we get to Prome, or beyond it, trifling must cease. There will be much business of vast importance to transact; and there can be little doubt of its being transacted in a manner highly creditable to the Government of British India.

lakhs of rupees (500,000*l*). But we agree with another, that "it is impossible to form even a proximate calculation of the expenses of the war."

It is said, that when reinforcements arrive from Bengal and Madras, General Godwin's army will number about 18,000 men.

The following is Lord Dalhousie's concise and elegant farewell-gift to the force at Rangoon :—

“ The Major-General* commanding, has the highest gratification in publishing to the troops the following General Order by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India :—

“ Rangoon, 1st August, 1852.

“ The Most Noble the Governor-General of India cannot forego the opportunity which is afforded to him by his visit to Rangoon, for again offering the combined force his most cordial acknowledgment of the valuable and distinguished services they have rendered here. The gratification which the Governor-General experiences in thus congratulating the force on its success in the field, is greatly enhanced by his being able to add the expression of his unqualified approbation of its conduct in quarters.

“ In every branch, whether Naval or Military, European or Native, the force has exhibited an orderly conduct and inoffensive demeanour towards the people of the country and a spirit of sound discipline, which are as truly honourable to its character as the high distinction it has won in battle.

“ Whatever may be the future course of this service, whatever may be the ultimate fate of this country, the Governor-General has the proud satis-

* By the recent order, the Brevet-Lieut.-General was in several cases cancelled, and our gallant commander was among them.

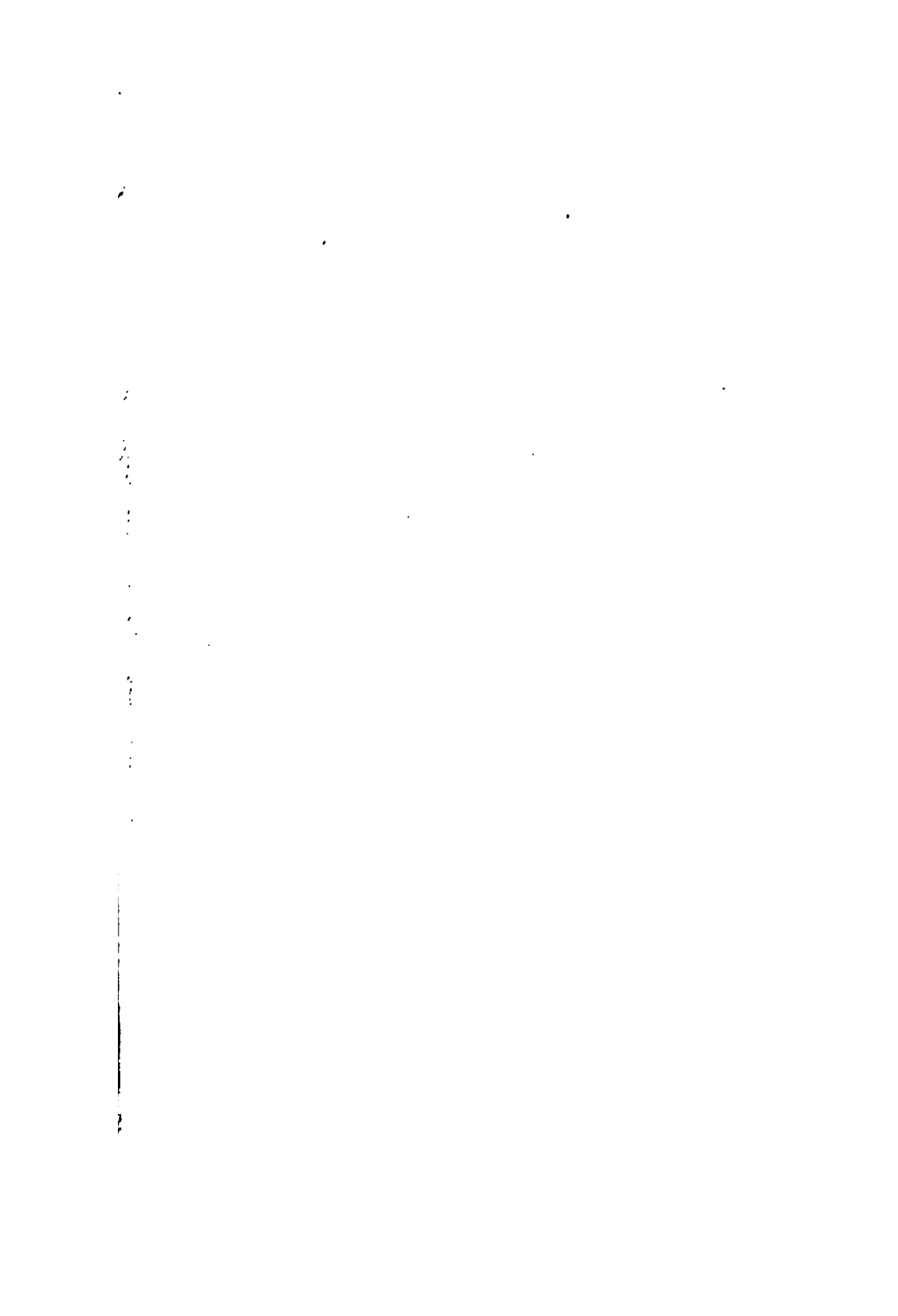
faction of feeling that the people of Burmah will hereafter associate with the presence of a British force among them no other recollections than those of its irresistible bravery in the field, of its order, forbearance, and obedience in the camp.

“(By command)

(Signed)

“ J. S. BANKS,
“ Assistant-Military-Secretary
to the Governor-General.”

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.



SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

NOTE 1, page 18.

The *Friend of India* writes—“In making Pegu British, we take from the kingdom of Burmah its chief financial resources, and its political strength; we deprive it of the sinews of war. It is to this prostration of the power of the Burmese, and the dread inspired in the Court by our own power, that we must look for the security of our new border-line. For the last twenty-five years, they have occupied the territory lying between our own provinces of Arracan and of Moulmein. A line of hills separates the former from Pegu; but there are three or four passes, through which a barbarian army, unencumbered with artillery and commissariat stores, might at any time have invaded the province, while Moulmein has always been open to incursion.”

The same journalist reviews an admirable work, by the Rev. F. Mason, M.A., entitled “Tenasserim; or, Notes on the Fauna, Flora, Minerals, and Nations of British Burmah, and Pegu.” In this work, by a learned missionary, will be found much valuable and interesting

information. In this age, when gold in California and in Australia is drawing so many adventurers from their native land, it may interest mankind to learn that, according to the work in question, gold is plentiful in Pegu; it is distributed all over the provinces; "all the streams from the lofty granite mountains bring down their tribute of the precious metal." "There is a rumour widely current in Burmah, that valuable mines are known to the Burmese Court; but the secret is strictly guarded, because *the treasures of the earth are regarded as a kind of royal reserve-fund*, only to be drawn upon in great emergencies." One would have thought our present occupation of Rangoon, Bassein, and Martaban, to be "a great emergency;" but where, up to the middle of August, is the gold, the yellow, glittering gold, we require, with other conditions—and to which we are now legally entitled?

Pegu is called by the Talains *Suburnubhumi*, or the land of gold. Mr. Mason endeavours to prove that it is no other than the Ophir of Solomon. "The ancient name of Moubee, in the delta of the Irrawaddy, was Suvanna-nadee, or 'river of gold;' indicating that Pegu was famous in antiquity for its gold; and gold and silver appear to have been much more abundant than they are now, even three centuries ago." "The Sanscrit form of Suvana is *Suverna*; and this, when the final syllable is dropped, is nearly identical with *Souphair*, the Greek name of Ophir."

We had read somewhere of our *own* India supposed to be Ophir; but this proof of Mr. Mason's is quite new, and as convincing as most proofs from etymology.

The Burmese language is said to be a compound of the ancient Pali with the Sanscrit, the Tartar, and the Chinese. ("The Encyclopædia of Geography.")

NOTE 2, page 93.

Regarding the capture of the Great Dagoon Pagoda, the General's despatch contains the following reasons for not advancing on the 13th:—"On Tuesday, the 13th, it was reported, the heavy battery-guns could not be landed, and be with me, before the middle of that day; and, also, that rations for the troops could not be prepared in time to enable me to advance. I therefore held my position till the next morning."

Nothing can be more natural in an officer of high standing than a disposition in favour of his own branch of the service; that in which he has won honour and renown. The veteran warrior, Sir Charles Napier, at the Preston Waterloo dinner, said to the 50th Regiment—"There has been a great deal of talk about the Minié rifle; but I can assure you, 50th, there is nothing like 'Old Brown Bess,' with a fixed bayonet, a strong arm, a strong heart, and strong courage." Very true; but to bring these grand qualities into highly successful operation, it strikes one, especially where attacks on outworks and a strongly-fortified position are probable, that the most powerful arm in war should occupy the chief importance. General Godwin, then, may have said, and will say, he could not have advanced the first day without landing at least two of the heavy guns, with a large supply of ammunition for these, and ample for the light-field batteries, to take along with him.

It may be brought forward in support of the advance on the 12th, that the artillery of the shipping had sufficiently exercised the powerful arm of destruction. In the chances of war, this would appear to carry a species of justification along with it. The military critic then replies—But why talk of chance, now-a-days, when an overwhelming display of ordnance, in the first instance, against *every point* of attack reduces operations almost to a certainty of success? But, after all, it is more difficult to do, than to know “what were good to do;” yet we have been highly successful; and history will record that the capture of Rangoon opened the Second Burmese War with “a brilliant feat of arms.”

Being desirous of doing justice to every corps alluded to in this narrative, we asked for any *memos.* of information regarding regiments employed on the 12th and 14th of April. The following was kindly sent by Lieutenant and Adjutant Becher, 40th B. N. I.:—

“The 40th B. N. I., brigaded with H. M.’s 18th R. I., and wing of H. M.’s 80th Regiment, landed on the morning of the 12th of April; and, after the capture of the White House Picquet, several of its companies were employed skirmishing with the enemy in the jungles to the front and left of the road, during the greater part of the afternoon. Two sepoys were killed, and five were wounded. On the 14th, our place in the column of advance was next to the 18th R. I. Whilst halted under the shelter of the hills to the left of the road, the Grenadier Company entire, and several more of our men, lent very willing and effective aid in helping on the heavy guns and ammunition-waggons, under a smart fire from the Pa-

goda guns. We were much pleased with their alacrity on this occasion. [It was noticed and admired by several Artillery officers present.] The Light Company, and No. 6, the latter commanded by Lieutenant White, and the former by Lieutenant Burn, with Ensign Stone attached, formed part of the storming-party, and entered the Pagoda at the same time with the Companies of the 80th and 18th. During the advance of the storming-party, three Companies, under Major Chitty, were employed skirmishing through the jungle to the right; the rest of the Regiment remained to protect the guns, and afterwards escorted them into the stockade. Majors Cotton and Minchin, also Lieutenants Maisey and Harris, of the 67th B. N. I., were doing duty with the 40th."

The death of Lieutenant-Colonel G. Thomson, of the 40th B. N. I., took place in Fort William, on the 26th of July. He had contracted the severe illness, which at length proved fatal, at Rangoon.

With regard to the works of the fortress, it may be mentioned, that the cutting off a long projecting right flank was proposed by that gallant and talented officer, Colonel Apthorp, 35th M. N. I.; his suggestion was taken up by the field engineer, and a breast-work was thrown up (*en crémallière*). The construction of the new barracks for the European troops does infinite credit to Major Frazer and the Engineer Department. Westward, inside the grand stockade, these buildings, admirably adapted to the climate, possess every appearance of comfort. You reach them, say by passing along a splendid and spacious road, flanked by other barracks, which the engineers have constructed for the native troops, when you

are immediately impressed with an idea of the rapid march of civilization. There seems to lurk the commencement of a new and important British station. The 18th and 80th Regiments (the whole of the latter being now present, the remaining wing having arrived from Calcutta towards the middle of August) occupy these European barracks. H. M.'s 51st have new barracks on the eastern side of the Pagoda. There is now covering in Rangoon, for a large army.

NOTE 3, page 104.

One of the most important and interesting incidents of this war is to be found in the "volunteering for Burmah." The 4th Sikh Local Horse, and another Sikh corps, are to form a portion of the gallant "army at Ava." Those who came forward as our bitterest enemies in December, 1845, through the wonderful nature of our Government, probably are, in October, November, or December, 1852, to assist us either in taking entire possession of Pegu, or in humiliating the Burmese, and planting the British standard on the walls of Ava! The two Sikh regiments for Burmah were to commence their downward march on the 15th of August.

NOTE 4, page 193.

The proceedings of Captain Tarleton's expedition, which was sent to reconnoitre Prome, have been briefly narrated. The Burmese, it appears, were located in great numbers on the left bank of the river. On this bank, in commanding positions, were bastions mounted

with cannon. But the steamers took the other channel, or right branch, and reached the main river uninjured. The steamers were "nine days in going up to Prome, staying there two days and returning." A small steamer belonging to the King of Ava "had left for Ava only the day previous to the arrival of our steamers."

In a second expedition, Captain Tarleton repassed the fortified rock, a little below Prome, where General Bundoola had before taken up position. It was deserted; but more guns were found.

NOTE 5, page 203.

Some interesting intelligence has been received from Sandoway and Arracan. The Aeng River has been now proved to be "navigable for steamers, having a light draught, upwards of thirty miles further than has hitherto been supposed to be the case. This is no trifling advantage, should the authorities decide on sending any troops to Burmah by the Aeng Pass."

"Lieutenant Fytche, the very active civil officer at Sandoway, has, after great exertions, opened a land communication between that place and Bassein, a communication which is effected in seven days, and can be continued thence to Rangoon in three or four more."

The following intelligence is terrible!—"The Burmese, who come across, say the troops at the capital, are determined to fight like devils; and that two brigades are formed, one termed the INVULNERABLE, the other the INVINCIBLES, which are to cut all the English to pieces!"

Captain Barry, commanding the Arracan Battalion, on hearing of General Godwin's successes, "turned out a

couple of guns, and 'woke the slumbering echoes' of the passes with a Royal salute, much to the astonishment of the natives."

NOTE 6, page 205.

An intelligent officer, at the commencement of the war, remarked that it was probable, in the cold weather, that Assam would make a demonstration against Burmah. It now appears that the Manipore Rajah is all energy to repel Burmese invasion. But an advance from Burmah on Upper Assam or Manipore at this season would be impracticable. The distance that divides Manipore from Burmah Proper is 300 miles. The routes, in every respect, are described as insurmountable. Nevertheless, in the last war, the Burmese poured their troops down on Arracan through the Aeng Pass, and into Cachar through Manipore; so, in the rainy season, they might be tempted "to beat up our quarters in Cachar, and in the Province of Arracan." "The troops collected at Arracan might form the nucleus of the army which would march across the Aeng Pass, during the cold weather, into the valley of the Irrawaddy, and co-operate with the army from Rangoon in its march to the capital, where," says the *Friend*, "alone we can make peace with any confidence of its permanency."

The *Nemesis** and *Fire Queen*—the former distinguished in the China war—are added to our number of useful steamers.

* Of course now it is natural to expect that the General, when reinforcements arrive, will avail himself of the powerful aid of the steam flotilla. One writer says—"What is to hinder the placing of

From all accounts, there appears to be no want of water to navigate the mighty Irrawaddy with our small steamers. What a magnificent undertaking—the British ascending, perhaps slowly, but surely, “capturing Meeaday, Patnagoh, Pagham, and many towns of importance, situated principally on the left bank,” and then reaching and taking possession of the capital! From Rangoon, Donabew is less than 100 miles up the stream; Prome is about 130 from Donabew; and from Prome to Ava, say, is 260. By annexing the Delta only, we shall have a population which “would effectually counteract the hostility of the Burmese.” Should this be done, to repel Burmese invasion of British Pegu—a crisis not altogether improbable—would bring on a third Burmese war, which would last but a short time, and surely end in the entire annexation to the British dominions of Alompra’s once powerful empire.

We shall conclude these brief “Notes” with one from the letter of an intelligent officer, bringing the narrative fairly down to August, 1852:—“Captain Tarleton has been as far as Meeaday” (some forty miles above Prome) “and burnt the Governor’s house, and a number of war-boats. The town was deserted on the approach of the steamers; and Captain Tarleton carefully preserved it from destruction or pillage.”

the troops in large, covered, flat-bottomed boats, a whole string of which might easily be towed by a single steamer? This plan was adopted in China, and many of the officers who served there may remember to have seen the little steamer *Nemesis* ascending the Canton river at the head of a train of boats, containing no less than three thousand men!”

[Some interesting notes of a *scientific* nature were expected from Bassein. The last boat from that port has been robbed by dacoits; so it is to be feared they have shared their fate with the rest of the mail. This followed rather closely on another attack on Martaban, not alluded to in the previous Notes, but one of little importance.]

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX I.

MINUTE BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

(*Extract.*)

February, 12, 1852.

THE despatch of Commodore Lambert, dated the 2nd instant, contains the reply of the Governor of Rangoon to the letter from the Government of India, dated the 26th ultimo.

That letter contained the *ultimatum* of the British Government. It required—

1st. That the Government should transmit a written apology for the insult to which the British officers had been subjected at Rangoon on the 6th of January last.

2nd. That he should pay, immediately, the sum of 9,900 rupees, demanded as compensation to Captain Sheppard and Captain Lewis.

3rd. That he should consent to receive in due and fitting manner, the agent who should be appointed under the treaty of Yandaboo.

If the Governor of Rangoon should at once make

these concessions, the Government of India agreed to send an envoy for the adjustment of every difference, and the king's ship was to be restored.

The reply of the Governor of Rangoon, far from making the required concessions, has evaded them all.

The demand for an apology on account of the insult offered to British officers at Rangoon is practically rejected, with a remark most offensive in the inference it implies.

The reparation to the persons plundered has not been paid.

There is no consent given to an agent being received.

The reply of the Governor, after reiterating complaints of the proceeding of our officers, simply states that the envoy of rank, to whom reference was made, should be sent, and that conference would then be held regarding payment of reparation, and the restoration of the king's ship.

This letter leaves to the Government of India, in my deliberate judgment, no alternative but to exact reparation by force of arms.

If, allured by the specious appearance of a desire for reconciliation, contained in the Governor's suggestion that an envoy should now be sent, the Government of India shall acquiesce in that request, it will suffer itself to be decoyed into a feeble and false position.

It will, in so doing, openly abandon every demand for reparation it has so peremptorily and justly advanced. It will tamely submit itself to national insult. It will give reasonable ground, for all who desire it, to assert that the offensive accusation of its officers, by the Go-

vernor of Rangoon, must needs be true, since his treatment of those officers, and his subsequent accusation of them, are alike unresented; and not only so, but they are themselves superseded by another negotiation. In one word, the position of the two Governments will be suddenly and wholly reversed.

These acts on the part of the Government of India will, undoubtedly, be misconstrued; its motives in so acting will be misunderstood; and, in the eyes of the Burmese nation, and of every eastern people that is looking on, the British Government having relinquished the demand it had peremptorily advanced, and having abandoned the officers it was bound to uphold, will unquestionably be regarded as having submitted to humiliation and avowed defeat.

I have sincerely desired, and have earnestly laboured for the preservation of peace; but I cannot consistently with the duty which I owe to the State, consent to purchase a present peace at so costly a price.

The commencement of war is an act of such solemn importance, and involves so deep a responsibility, that I consider it right to pass in review the events which have led, so rapidly and so unexpectedly, to the present hostilities with Burmah, in order to absolve the Government of India from the reproach of having lightly sought a quarrel, or insufficiently striven to avert it.

For many years past, complaints, from time to time, have been made of acts of oppression and of violation of Treaty by the Burmese Governors. None, however, had been brought forward of sufficient extent or significance to call for the formal notice of this Government.

But a few months ago, representations were addressed to the Government of India by the captains of two English merchantmen, setting forth very gross acts of violence and outrageous violation of the rights of British subjects by the Governor of Rangoon. The facts appeared unquestioned,—the right of those persons to claim the protection of their Government, and through it to obtain redress and reparation, was undoubted.

The Government of India accordingly requested Commodore Lambert, in command of certain of Her Majesty's ships, to proceed to Rangoon, for the purpose of representing the wrong that had been done, and of seeking redress.

The rank of that officer, and his standing, not merely pointed him out as the proper officer to be entrusted with this demand, but seemed to render it inexpedient that any officer of less rank should be employed while he was present. Commodore Lambert was supplied with precise instructions for his guidance; and it was specially enjoined upon him, that no act of hostility should be committed, though the reply of the Governor should be unfavourable; nor until the definite instructions,* regarding such hostilities, should be given by the Government of India.

Upon his arrival at Rangoon, Commodore Lambert found it, in his judgment, impracticable to treat in any way with the then Governor of that province; and, as the most probable mode of conducting the matter to a peaceable conclusion, he transmitted at once the letter from the Government of India to the King of Ava,

* Letter of Secretary to Government, Oct. 31, 1851.

requiring the removal of the Governor, and the reparation claimed for the injury done to the captains of the ships.

In due time, an answer was received at Rangoon from the king. It was couched in friendly terms, and promised that the Governor should be removed, and that redress should be afforded.

The Governor was accordingly removed, and his successor arrived at Rangoon.

In reply to a message which was conveyed to him on the 5th of January, the Governor stated that "he would be most happy, at any time, to receive any communication from the Commodore."*

On the following day, the 6th of January, a deputation, headed by Captain Fishbourne, the next officer in rank to Commodore Lambert, proceeded to the Governor's residence, for the purpose of delivering to him a letter from the Commodore, on behalf of the British Government.

The officers were refused admittance.

Assuming that there was, in the deputing of these officers, a neglect of strict form, although (be it observed) no such forms had been attended to on his own part, by the Governor of Rangoon, whose letter had been conveyed to the Commodore by officers of the humblest rank, and admittance had been freely granted to them; admitting, I say, that ceremonial had not been duly observed, the omission affords no justification whatever, for the insult and contumely which were publicly heaped upon these officers, the known agents, for the time, of the Government they served.

They were not merely denied admittance to the pre-

* Captain Latter's Report.

sence of the Governor, upon pleas whose falsehood was proved by his own messages at the time; but they were not permitted to enter within the door. No officer was deputed to them for explanation; one official after another passed them without notice, while standing in the public court, under the heat of the sun, and when they sought shelter from its rays, they were bidden to go under a shed provided for the lowest classes of the people when attending the courts.

No further notice was taken of their presence, and the officers, after long delay, at length were compelled to retire from the door.

The persons of the officers were known, their mission was known, their approach had been announced; and although the omission of the ceremonial form to which I have alluded, might have given to the Governor a plausible pretext for declining to receive the officers in person, his own conduct in the transmission of his communications had greatly weakened that pretext; while nothing could justify the gross, deliberate, and studied affront which was put upon the British Government, in the person of its officers, conveying a communication on its behalf to the representative of the King of Ava.

No apology whatever was made by the Governor of Rangoon; that which the Commodore required was rejected, and none was offered in any other form.

On the contrary, the Governor of Rangoon addressed to the Government of India a letter, accusing the officers, on the occasion to which I have referred, of having presented themselves in a state of intoxication; thus aggravating the insult he was bound to repair.

Since this imputation has been placed upon record, I think it right to express my conviction, that if such conduct were not altogether incredible in any British officer engaged in a formal mission to a foreign Governor, at noon-day, the unimpeachable character of Captain Fishbourne is in itself a sufficient guarantee that no one permitted to accompany him could be in any degree open to so scandalous a charge. The statement is truly that which I have designated it—an insult at once to the officers employed, and to their Government to which it has been addressed.

The act of the Governor of Rangoon, in refusing admittance to the deputation, under the circumstances of insolence and contumely which I have described, and in withholding all amends for his conduct, was rightly viewed by the Commodore as a rejection of the demand he had been sent to make. He at once established the blockade which had been enjoined as the consequence of such rejection.

No blame could have attached to the Government of India, if it had sought no further for the reconciliation of these differences, but had proceeded to exert its power for the enforcement of its rights. But the desire of the Government of India for an amicable adjustment of existing differences was genuine; it sought no conquest or pretext for war.

The terms of the letter from the Governor of Rangoon, in respect of the conduct of the officers, would have justified the Government in treating it with contemptuous silence. The rejection of our demand for reparation would have justified an enhancement of the demand.

But in its desire for the maintenance of peace, the Government of India did not reject the letter of the Governor, or enhance its demands for reparation. It raised no new difficulties, and once again renewed its exertions for the reconciliation.

It demanded only an expression of the Governor's regret for the treatment to which the officers had been exposed, and the payment of the original compensation, and an honourable reception for the agent whom the treaty of 1826 entitled us to depute.

The most just and moderate terms have been, one and all, evaded; and thus the Government of India is thrown back upon the alternative, which it formally announced to the Governor, would be the result of his failing to acquiesce in our demands, namely, the exaction of reparation by our own power.

If it be objected, that the main cause of the present rupture appears to be but a question of form; that a great Government may well afford to treat such petty slights with indifference, and that it would be wise for the Government of India to pass by unnoticed as well the offence itself, as the present refusal of apology for it, rather than to be drawn by it into all the evils of a war with Burmah, I desire to record my fixed conviction that the Government of India will commit an error, perilous to its own security, and at variance with real humanity, if, acting on this view, it shall yield to the pretensions of the Burmese, and shall now patch up a hollow and unsubstantial peace.

Among all the nations of the East, none is more arrogant in its pretensions of superiority, and none more per-

tinacious in its assertion of them, than the people of Burmah. With them, forms are essential substance, and the method of communication and the style of address are not words but acts.

The conduct of the Governor of Rangoon towards the British officers, on the 6th January, would have been felt as ignominious by the lowest subordinate at his Durbar, if he had himself been subjected to it. The ignominy inflicted on these officers, if it be not resented, will be, and must be, regarded as the humiliation of the power they serve. The insult has been persisted in to the last. The form of address in the letters of the Burmese officers has been that employed towards other inferiors; and in the conveyance of their official communications, a studied disrespect, the most elaborate insolence, have been exhibited.

Were all this to be passed over, and friendly relations renewed, the ground thus gained by the Burmese would be fully taken advantage of. The oppressions and exactions to which British subjects at Rangoon have been exposed would be redoubled; the impracticable discourtesies which have been the steady policy of the Government of Ava since the conclusion of the treaty of 1826, and which have driven away one British envoy after another from Ava, and subsequently from Rangoon (till for many years past there has been no representative of this Government in Burmah at all), would be habitually practised towards the agent who may be placed at Rangoon; and, within a very brief period of time, the Government of India would be reduced to the same alternatives which it has now before it, of either abandoning its sub-

jects, and acknowledging its inability to protect them, or of engaging in a war; on which it would enter with the disadvantage of having, by its previous concessions, given spirit to the exertions of the enemy, and strengthened their already overweening confidence in their means of successful resistance.

The British power in India cannot safely afford to exhibit even a temporary appearance of inferiority. Whilst I should be reluctant to believe that our empire in India has no stay but the sword alone, it is vain to doubt that our hold must mainly rest upon the might of the conqueror, and must be maintained by that power. The Government of India cannot, consistently with its own safety, appear for one day in an attitude of inferiority; or hope to maintain peace and submission among the numberless princes and people embraced within the vast circuit of the empire, if, for one day, it gave countenance to a doubt of the absolute superiority of its arms, and of its continued resolution to assert it.

The recital I have given in the preceding paragraphs of the course of recent events, will show that the original demand of the Government of India for redress was just and necessary; and that it was sought in a manner respectful to an independent nation. It will show, that a gross insult having been put upon this Government in the persons of its officers, the Government has not been eager to take offence or perverse in refusing amends. It has shown itself sincerely desirous to open a way to reconciliation; it has practised the utmost moderation and forbearance. Notwithstanding intervening events, it has

not enhanced its original demand, and has offered the restoration of friendly relations on mild and most reasonable terms. If the rejection of those terms shall now lead to war between the states, the Government of India must be absolved in the sight of those for whom it rules, from the responsibility of hostilities, which it cannot decline without submitting to a discredit of its power that would place in jeopardy the stability of its authority throughout the East.

The necessity for exacting reparation from Burmah by force of arms having been established, it has been necessary to consider the mode of operation.

I do not by any means intend to intimate that hostilities should be entered upon even though the demands we have made should be previously conceded by the King or his officers.

If, on the arrival of the force off Rangoon, the required apology shall be actually made, it may be accepted ; but the former reparation demanded is not now sufficient. The expenses of the war, and the probable claims for compensation, must be provided for.

If, therefore, overtures of peace should be made before the war shall actually commence, it is my opinion that we must now require :—

1. The apology previously demanded.
2. The payment of 9,900 rupees, formerly demanded for Captain Sheppard and Captain Lewis.
3. The honourable reception of the agent at Rangoon.
4. In consideration of the expenses of the expedition, and of compensation for property, ten lakhs of rupees.

If these demands are complied with, and paid at once, the force should be at once withdrawn. If they are agreed to, but the larger sum is not producible, the possession of Rangoon and Martaban, until the payment of the specified sum, should be insisted upon.

If these demands shall be rejected, or if the possession of Rangoon and Martaban, until they are fulfilled, shall be refused, operations of war should commence.

The course to be pursued by the Government of India, in the event of the Burmese policy rendering it necessary to attack and occupy Rangoon and Martaban, will be considered, and determined upon before the expedition shall be despatched.

DALHOUSIE.

APPENDIX II.

WHILE the Marquis Dalhousie was making arrangements at Calcutta for the expedition from Bengal, the Governors of the minor Presidencies were equally active in carrying out their several shares of the enterprise. The following account of Lord Falkland's movements is derived from the *Bombay Times*:—

The Right Honourable the Governor, accompanied by Commodore Lushington and the Staff of the Indian Navy, proceeded yesterday forenoon to inspect the splendid Steam Flotilla which has been fully equipped within the last week for service in the Burman waters. His Lordship visited the steam-frigates *Feroze* and *Sesostris* in succession, and expressed himself highly gratified with the zeal and activity which had been manifested by the officers and crews of all the vessels selected to form the Bombay portion of the expedition against Burmah. His Lordship was received with a salute of nineteen guns from the *Hastings*, Commodore's flag ship, and the yards of all the Company's vessels in harbour were manned. The inspection of the vessels visited by Lord Falkland occupied about an hour, and his Lordship landed shortly after noon under the salute

due to his rank. Captain H. B. Lynch, the senior officer, having received his final instructions, made the signal to weigh and put to sea between two and three o'clock P.M., when the following vessels started almost together for Madras:—Steam-frigates *Feroze*, Captain Lynch; *Moozuffer*, Commander H. Hewitt; *Sesostris*, Commander C. D. Campbell; and steam-packet *Berenice*, Lieutenant A. Nesbit. They will there take up H. M.'s 51st Foot, three companies of Artillery, and two regiments of Native Infantry, and proceed with them to Rangoon, where the squadron will co-operate with that already there.

Commodore Lushington has, we observe, issued a well-timed General Order expressing his thanks to all the different branches of the Indian naval department under his command for their zealous and active assistance, and congratulating the captains, officers, and crews of the vessels fitted for the above service, on the highly creditable and expeditious manner in which they have been prepared for sea.—*Bombay Times*, Feb. 25, 1852.

LIST OF OFFICERS ATTACHED TO THE SQUADRON
DESPATCHED TO RANGOON.

On the *Feroze*.

Captain H. B. Lynch, I. N.; Lieutenants Hellard, Halt, and Mitchison (latter gunnery officer); Surgeon Costelloe; Assistant-Surgeon Wilson; Purser Beyts; Acting-Masters Pryce and Connor; Messrs. Monk, Davies, and Clay, Midshipmen; and Messrs. Cole and Pierce, Clerks.

ARMAMENT.—Seven 8-inch (erroneously called 6 pr.) guns; and a 12 pr. howitzer field piece.

Moozuffer.

Commander H. Hewett, I. N.; Lieutenants Robinson, Campbell, and Stevens; Surgeon —; Assistant-Surgeon Welsh; Acting-Master Freeman; Pro. Mate Brazier; Clerk in Charge, Litchfield; Messrs. Templer, Harris, Dowell, and Dawkins, Midshipmen.

ARMAMENT.—Five 8-inch guns; two heavy 32 prs.; and boats' guns, &c.

Sesostris.

Commander C. D. Campbell, I. N.; Lieutenants Lewis, Davis, and Windus; Surgeon Wright; Assistant-Surgeon Crawford, Purser Gibbon; Pro. Mate Lamb; Messrs. Dawson, Turner, Yelf, and Capel, Midshipmen.

ARMAMENT.—Two 8-inch guns; two 32 pr. mediums; and three boats' guns.

Berenice.

Lieutenant A. Nesbitt, I. N., Commander; Assistant-Surgeon Thomson; Messrs. Atkins, Cairncros, and Nunnerly, Acting Masters, and Mr. Ford, Clerk in Charge.

ARMAMENT.—Two 32 pr. mediums.

APPENDIX III.

The subjoined General Order comprehends all the arrangements made by the Madras Government :—

Madras, March 25, 1852.

No. 23—Under instructions from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief directs the formation of the Madras Brigade for the Expedition to Burmah, to be composed of the following Corps, which will be embarked without delay.

Brigadier W. H. Elliott, K.H., Commanding.

Brevet-Major H. Griffith, 11th Regiment Native Infantry, Major of Brigade.

ARTILLERY.

Three Companies.—Lieutenant-Colonel H. S. Foord, Commanding.

Brevet-Captain J. D. Scott, Major of Brigade.

SAPPERS AND MINERS.

Two Companies. — Brevet-Captain J. W. Rundall, Field Engineers, and Commanding (already embarked) Sappers and Miners.

INFANTRY.

H. M.'s 51st King's Own Light Infantry; 5th Regiment N. I. (to be embarked from Vizagapatam); 9th Regiment N. I.; 35th Regiment N. I.

The Brigade will proceed to the mouth of the Rangoon River, and be placed under the orders of Lieutenant-General Godwin, C.B., appointed to the command of the combined Force.

The following Officers, having been placed at the Commander-in-Chief's disposal, they will immediately report themselves to Captain J. W. Rundall, commanding the Sappers and Miners, and proceed under him to join the two companies of the Corps now on the passage to Moulmein, but ordered to join the Expeditionary Force proceeding to Burmah:—

2nd Lieutenant G. Dennison.

2nd Lieutenant E. R. Blagrove.

2nd Lieutenant J. O. Mayne, and Conductor T. C. Almond, of the Sappers and Miners, will also immediately place themselves under the orders of Captain Rundall, and proceed to join the above two companies of Corps.

The following removal is ordered in the Artillery:—
Brevet-Major A. F. Oakes from Horse Brigade to 4th Battalion.—*Fort St. George Gazette.*

APPENDIX IV.

Burmah, or, as it is sometimes called, the kingdom of Ava, occupies nearly a third of the peninsula whose western shore borders the Bay of Bengal to the east, stretching to the Straits of Malacca to the south, and facing the shores of China on the west. It occupies a space of about 184,000 square miles, extending from the fourteenth to the twenty-eighth parallel. The river Irrawaddy, which is wholly within the empire, is supposed to be nearly a thousand miles in length. With the empire in general we need not at present concern ourselves; it is on the delta and shores of the Irrawaddy that our attention is pre-eminently concentrated. This noble stream discharges itself by fourteen different mouths into the Bay of Bengal, lat. 18 deg.—just south of Cape Negrais. The delta is supposed to cover an area of about 10,000 square miles, or considerably more than that of the Nile—its three sides are about 135, 145, and 113 miles in length respectively. So far as the tide reaches, the delta of the Irrawaddy is thickly covered with jungle and small-sized trees; after this, vast tracks of lofty grass, interspersed at intervals with tall-sized trees, make their appearance. Rangoon is the marine capital of the empire.* From Rangoon to Ava the distance by the river is close on 500 miles,

* On the Paung or Rangoon river, eastern channel of the Irrawaddy.

and might be traversed against the current by the *Nemesis* or *Phlegethon* in four days. The population is estimated at 25,000. Ameerapoor is only accessible by vessels of inconsiderable size; and above this, the river rapidly diminishes in size and depth. Prome, in lat. 18.50 degrees, contains a population of about 10,000 inhabitants; it is said to have been the earliest of the seats of the Government of the empire. Compared even to our second-rate Indian cities, those of Burmah are in point of magnitude inconsiderable, and in architecture contemptible in the extreme. In lat. 20.30 degrees to the south of the banks of the Irrawaddy, are the famous petroleum wells of Burmah; they are about three hundred in number, and cover an area of sixteen square miles of ground. The quantity of mineral oil obtained from them is enormous: when drawn it is thin and watery, but speedily thickens on exposure, and affords the profitable source of lamp-light to all the country round. From this all along to Ava, numberless fossils of great beauty, both wood and animal remains, similar to those of Perim, prevail; and should accident throw our warriors in the way of enriching our museums, we trust the opportunity presented will not be lost sight of; specimens sufficient to replace the weight of a single discharge of shot, would fill a cabinet. In the delta the monsoon sets in early in May, and for three months rain pours in torrents—the remainder of the season is almost rainless. The heat of April is oppressive, so the climate there is not unlike our own—with this difference, that they have the wet season a month sooner than we have.—*Bombay Times*, Feb. 25, 1852.

APPENDIX V.

The following extract from After Orders, by Brigadier F. F. Whinyates, Commandant of the Madras Artillery, dated St. Thomas's Mount, 12th May, 1852, was received at Rangoon early in June :—

By G. O. G. dated 11th May, 1852.

“In nominating a successor (Major Simpson) to Major Oakes, as Director of the Artillery Depôt, the Right Honourable the Governor in Council desires to express the deep regret with which he has received the report of that officer's death. Major Oakes' whole course of service was distinguished by the singular activity and unceasing labour with which he devoted himself to every subject belonging to his profession, rendering his death a loss not only to his immediate regiment, but to the service at large. Major Oakes died as he had lived in the energetic discharge of his duty.”

The following tribute was published at a later period :—

“The Commandant of Artillery, in lamenting the loss to the regiment on the occasion, has specially to deplore the death of Major Oakes, an officer so conspicuous for his zeal as repeatedly to have elicited the commendation

of the Honourable Court of Directors, and of the highest authorities in India. The Commandant of Artillery feels he can best serve his memory by calling to those who are now rising in the service to emulate him in those qualities, energy, and industry, which in his case have resulted in much benefit to the service at large, but especially to his own regiment."

APPENDIX VI.

THE BURMAH DESPATCHES.

NOTIFICATION, FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

Fort William, April 28, 1852.

The Governor-General of India in Council having failed to obtain redress from the Court of Ava for injuries which had been inflicted on British subjects, in gross violation of existing Treaties, was compelled to declare that reparation should be exacted by force of Arms.

To that end an Expedition was immediately prepared and despatched to the Coast, in the hope that a blow promptly struck against the Burmese Power might possibly lead to a concession of the just and moderate demands advanced by the Government of India, and might thus avert the necessity for engaging in extended and costly war.

The Governor-General in Council has had the satisfaction of publishing, for general information, Despatches which announce the success of the Expedition, in the capture of Martaban, in the destruction of the formidable defences constructed along the River, and in the assault and occupation of the fortifications of Rangoon.

The Governor-General in Council cannot employ terms too strong in expressing his unqualified approbation of the brilliant service which has thus been performed, and his gratitude to those by whose joint exertions it has been achieved.

His admiration is due equally to the perfect cordiality and concert with which Navy and Army have acted together, to the gallantry which has been conspicuous in the Field, and to the fortitude and patience with which all have endured, without a murmur, a fierceness of climate, whose deadly influence is unhappily too well attested by the number of those who have fallen victims to its effects.

The Governor-General in Council especially desires to offer to the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces in these Seas his warm acknowledgments of the ready co-operation, and of the very effective aid which His Excellency has afforded to the Government of India by the powerful Squadron under his command whose operations he has so ably directed, and in whose services he has borne so distinguished a part.

To Lieut.-General Godwin, Commanding the Forces in Ava, the Governor-General in Council begs leave to tender his most full and cordial thanks for the manner in which by his intrepidity, his energy, and ability, he has brought the Military Operations of the Force to their present successful issue; and to congratulate him upon having thus won fresh and higher honours upon the same scene on which he formerly gained so much distinction.

The Governor-General in Council has great satisfaction in publicly rendering to Commodore Lambert his sincere

acknowledgments of the promptitude with which he gave his assistance to the Government of India, of his constant exertions on its behalf during a trying service, and especially of the prominent share he has now borne in the destruction of the River defences, thus materially facilitating the movements of the Squadron, and the ultimate success of the attack.

The best thanks of the Governor-General in Council are due to Brigadier Elliott, commanding the Madras Brigade, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Reignolds, who, after having taken a part in every operation of the Troops, has assumed the command of the Bengal Brigade, from which illness, which the Governor-General in Council regrets, has removed Brigadier Warren.

The Governor-General in Council is happy to record his appreciation of the essential service rendered by Captain Lynch, the senior officer of the Indian Navy, to whose ability, judgment, and discretion, His Excellency the Rear-Admiral has borne his testimony on this occasion.

And His Lordship in Council at the same time desires to mark his sense of the services of Commander Mellersh, of Commander Fishbourne, by whose aid the Government has largely profited, of Commander Tarleton, Commander Luard, Lieutenant Rice, R. N., Captain Niblett, of H. C. S. *Phlegethon*, and of Surgeon Mintor, whose personal exertions have been severally commended by His Excellency.

The Governor-General in Council has to add his marked acknowledgments of the valuable assistance afforded during the attack on the land defences of

Rangoon by Lieutenant Dorville, R. N., and the Naval Brigade under his orders.

The Governor-General in Council has further remarked with gratification the distinguished conduct of Captain Brooking, of H. C. steamer *Proserpine*. His Lordship in Council wishes to express his warm approbation of conduct which has elicited the applause, both of the Admiral, and of the General who witnessed it.

The conspicuous gallantry of Major Fraser, commanding the Engineers, and his indefatigable exertions since the expedition was resolved upon, more especially in the field, command the highest praise and the best thanks of the Supreme Government.

To Lieutenant-Colonel Foord, Commanding the Artillery; to Major Turton and Major Reid, of the Bengal Artillery; to Major Montgomerie, of the Madras Artillery; to Lieutenant-Colonel Coote, of Her Majesty's 18th, who has been severely wounded; to Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson of the 40th Native Infantry; to Lieutenant-Colonel Johnson, of 26th Madras Native Infantry; and to Major Lockhart, of Her Majesty's 80th Regiment; to Captain Mayhew, Deputy Adjutant General, whose value is specially remarked; to Captain Allan, Deputy Quarter Master General; to Captain Call and Captain Smith, Brigade Majors; to Lieutenant Robertson, Deputy Commissary of Ordnance; to Captain Gillespie, who led the assault at Martaban, and Captain Campbell, of Her Majesty's 18th; to Captain Randall, Commanding Madras Sappers and Miners; to Captain Chads and Lieutenant Lambert, Aides-de-Camp to the Lieutenant-General, the services of all of whom have been noticed with approba-

tion by General Godwin, the Governor-General in Council begs to offer his earnest thanks.

The Governor-General in Council has to offer his thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Bogle, Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, for the valuable aid he rendered to General Godwin in connection with the attack upon Martaban; and his Lordship in Council particularly desires to record his approbation of the energetic and successful exertions of the Commissioner in giving effect to the preparations of the Government for ensuring as far as possible the health and comfort of the troops to be employed upon the expedition.

Captain Latter, who has discharged his functions hitherto to the entire satisfaction of the Government, has added to his claims by the duty which he well performed in the assault on the Pagoda at Rangoon.

Not only to the Officers he has thus specially named, but to all the Officers, to the Non-Commissioned Officers, of whatever designation, and to the Soldiers and Sailors of the force, the Governor-General in Council desires to convey his true and hearty thanks for the alacrity, the endurance, the bravery and good conduct they have displayed during the several operations in which they have been engaged.

The Governor-General in Council deeply laments to know that our success has not been achieved without the sacrifice of valued lives.

He deplors the loss of Major Oakes, of the Madras Artillery; of Brigade Major Griffiths; of Lieutenant Armstrong, of Her Majesty's 51st Regiment; of Lieut. Donaldson, of Bengal Engineers; of Lieutenant Doran,

of Her Majesty's 18th, who nobly perished in the front of the assault, and of the Rev. Mr. Baker, Chaplain of Her Majesty's Ship *Fox*, and other brave men who died in the performance of their several duties in the service of their country.

It shall be the first care of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council, to bring the conduct and services of the Naval and Military forces on the Coast of Burmah, under the most favourable notice of Her Majesty's Government and of the Honourable East India Company.

By order of the Most Noble the Governor-General in Council,

C. ALLEN,

Officiating Sec. to the Govt. of India.

SUPPLEMENTARY NARRATIVE OF THE ATTACK ON THE WHITE HOUSE STOCKADE.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL H. GODWIN, C.B.,
COMMANDING BURMAH FIELD-FORCE.

Rangoon.

SIR,—I have the honour, with your kind sanction, to forward the following detailed narrative of the operations of a wing of the regiment now under my command, in the attack on the White House Stockade, on the morning of the 12th April, 1852.

In explanation, it is necessary for me to state, that Lieutenant-Colonel St. Maur commanded H. M.'s 51st on

the morning of the 12th, and, of course, accompanied the right wing. He was seriously indisposed from the effects of the sun. Upon the wing rejoining the regiment, I assumed the command on the 13th, and marched the regiment into the Great Pagoda on the 14th; but the command was not formally given over to me until the 4th instant, when Lieutenant-Colonel St. Maur proceeded on leave to Madras. This, I trust, will account for my report not having been sent to you, as soon as the operations had been brought to a conclusion.

1. On the morning of the 12th, the right wing of H. M.'s 51st, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Maur, was directed to advance, with orders to support the guns, to cover the flanks, and eventually to storm the stockade.

2. After passing the guns, No. 1. Company, under the command of Lieutenant Singleton, was ordered to cover the front of the reserve; but was immediately reinforced, by your orders, by No. 2 Company, under Captain Manners. I believe you were an eye-witness of the steady manner in which these companies skirmished. A sharp fire was opened upon these skirmishers, and steadily returned by them.

3. These skirmishers had not advanced far, when the two left sub-divisions were ordered to clear the jungle, on the left of the covered pathway, leading to the front face of the stockade. The two right sub-divisions moved over some rising ground leading to the left face of the stockade, and encountered a great number of the enemy's skirmishers, who, according to Captain Manners' report, they drove before them in the most gallant manner. It

was here that Captain Manners was requested by an officer of Engineers to render him assistance in getting the scaling-ladders carried to the front, which was immediately complied with by this officer; but on emerging from the wood, and when within one hundred yards of the stockade, Captain Manners saw several of the 51st soldiers entering by the steps and over the parapet, upon which he left the ladders, and entered himself by the front.

4. I should be much wanting in my duty were I not here to call to your notice the skilful conduct of Lieutenant Pilmer, who commanded the left sub-division of No. 1 Company. This officer observed that the reserve was suffering from the enemy's fire in front; he therefore made a dash with his sub-division to take the enemy in rear, which was no sooner observed by the enemy than they evacuated the front face, and sallied out by the rear in great numbers, apparently with the intention of making for the stockade at some distance, in the rear of the White House. Thus was this officer's object partially effected; and it would have been completed, by cutting off the whole party, had he not been prevented by Captain Latter, who ordered the men not to follow further.

5. The reserve, consisting of No. 3 Company, under Captain Darroch, No. 5 under Captain Blundell, and No. 6 under the command of Lieutenant Madden, was ordered to halt in some open cover; but only for a few seconds. It was here, when ordered to advance to storm the stockade, that Captain Blundell, when in the act of gallantly leading on his men, was shot in the abdomen by

a musket ball—the wound proving fatal in a few days; his loss is deeply regretted by officers and men; his cheerfulness and thoughtfulness for the sufferings of others were remarkable, whilst being carried to the rear. The non-commissioned and soldiers of No. 5 Company will long regret the loss of their brave commander. Captain Darroch, calling upon his men to follow him, moved rapidly up to the stockade, where he found some ladders being reared by the soldiers of the 51st, who placed them, and went up the mafterwards. Captain Darroch, calling out, “On, men, the place is our own!” pushed forward with the greatest alacrity, and in a few moments he and his men were in the stockade. The ladders alluded to were placed against the parapet by order of Lieutenant Madden, commanding No. 6 Company, by which the men entered the stockade; Lieutenant Madden leading the way.

Before concluding my report, which has been drawn up from those sent in to me by the officers commanding the different companies, I beg to bring to your notice the gallant conduct of Major Hare, of the regiment under my command, who mounted the first ladder, following Captain Rundall, of the Madras Engineers, who was preceded by Major Fraser, of the Bengal Engineers. It affords me pleasure to inform you that the latter officer reported to me, after our operations had terminated, that a European soldier was the first man in the stockade, who, I conclude, must have been a soldier of the 51st, as no other European regiment was engaged in the attack. I believe the soldier to have been Private Johnson, of Captain Blundell’s Company.

On the 14th, after the storming-party had advanced to the attack of the Great Pagoda, you ordered me to throw out two companies of the 51st. One of these companies, under the command of Lieutenant Singleton, skirmished through the jungle up to the eastern face of the stockade; but observing a great number of the enemy escaping from the Upper Pagoda, he made for the south-east angle. He entered, following closely upon the storming-party.

The other company, under the command of Captain Manners, acted under your personal orders, and entered the Great Pagoda with you at the east entrance.

I beg to annex a return of the killed and wounded on this occasion* :—

1 Captain, mortally wounded (Captain Blundell).

1 Sergeant, slightly „

2 Corporals

11 Privates, severely „

On the 14th, 1 Private, killed; 1, mortally wounded; and 1 Sergeant slightly.

(True copy.)

(Signed)

A. C. ERRINGTON, Major,
51st L. I., Commanding.

Rangoon, May 12, 1852.

* The storming of the White House Stockade.

EXTRACT FROM AN OFFICER'S DIARY AT RANGOON.

"The General is very popular, being always kind in his deportment to all who address him. His disregard of his own personal safety, and of the bullets of the enemy, on the 12th and 14th of April, the cool manner he rode about, when many about him were bobbing their heads, stamp him as a brave man. On one occasion, when exposed to the enemy's fire, I heard him soundly rate, though in a kind way, some European soldiers for bobbing their heads. The cocked hat he wore rendered his vicinity anything but safe. Brigadier Elliott quite equalled the General in an utter disregard of bullets. No man in the field, on the 12th and 14th, was more exposed, or behaved with more coolness, than did the two old soldiers."

APPENDIX VII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1824-25.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GODWIN AT MARTABAN
AND YÈ.

THE passage from Rangoon on the Irrawaddy to Martaban on the Salween appears insignificant on the map. But the strong currents of the intermediate portion of the coast, baffled day after day the fleet of Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin. He did not arrive near the romantic lake and heights of Martaban before the 29th September. On the 30th the Burmans were driven from its town, fortified pagodas, and stockaded lines by a scientific attack. The Lieutenant-Colonel detached Captain O'Reilly of the 41st against Yè-Mijo. This also was rapidly captured. The occupation of Martaban brought the British upon the frontier line of the Siamese. But no efforts of either Burmah or British agents, neither arguments, promises, nor threats, could ever divert that Government from their cautious and reserved system of policy. They persevered in an armed neutrality to the end of the protracted contest, carefully watching the trepidations of the balance of success. They could never be

drawn into any overt act of hostility against the Burmans; but to keep well with their enemies, they filled the streets of Rangoon with a tinsel embassy, so soon as they heard of the advance of the British; and during the third campaign the political agents at Martaban were amused from time to time with choice specimens of enigmatical eloquence by a General-in-Chief with the sonorous name of ROUNG-ROUNG.

THE HEALTH OF THE TROOPS AT RANGOON.*

Meanwhile the privations and sufferings of the troops at Rangoon were painfully aggravated. The continued use of salt provisions had added to the disease which preyed on them before, scurvy—a frightful scourge anywhere, but on the humid delta of an huge river, a foe to human health, which seemed to defy extirpation. The heavy rains, which had intermitted after the second week of October, were renewed in November with their former violence. Ships despatched from Rangoon in July, could not bring back any effectual succours in less than four months. Private adventurers had brought sheep and poultry to this mart of starvation. But they were few in number, and were sold at rates incredibly exorbitant. They furnished only an ephemeral repast for the tables of a few of the half-famished officers. Pine-apples abounded in the forests. Limes and citrons were to be found in rude orchards. The juice of these fruits might have been rendered sanative to a few, if used as anti-scorbutics only. But the heedless voracity with which

* Towards the conclusion of Nov. 1824.

such unripe rarities were swallowed by hungry soldiers proved fatal to hundreds of dysenteric sufferers. Bread had been, from the month of August, supplied in sufficient quantities for the consumption of hospitals. But the rations of the soldier consisted of rice, a crude indigestible viand for the stomach of a native of Britain, salted beef and pork, which vitiated the animal juices, and biscuit seldom fresh, and commonly swarming with animalcules, or mouldy from long detention under hatches, or in damp magazines. The supply of medicines was not abundant, nor assorted with a view to peculiar ailments, which could not have been anticipated. Of most of the articles included under the head of medical comforts, there was yet a greater scarcity. It may be surmised that where there were no cattle, milk was not procurable; yet a milk diet would have saved many valuable lives. Dropsical symptoms manifested themselves extensively. Dyspepsia, and acute hepatitis were yet more common. Diarrhœa and dysentery committed lamentable ravages. For dyspeptic, hepatic, dysenteric, and scorbutic patients, there were neither milk, vegetables, farinaceous food, nor nutritive broths. These deficiencies baffled the skill, though they could not extinguish the zeal of the medical officers. The plan of mooring transports at the mouth of the river, on board of which convalescents might inhale the sea-breezes, did not produce very beneficial results. The most successful of the sanitary measures was the establishment of a dépôt at Mergui.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GODWIN AT TANTABAIN.

It was known to the British that Bundoola had con-

centrated a force, swelled by this time to a considerable amount, at Donabyoo. The Kee Woonghee, or first Woonghee of the Empire, commanded several detachments intended to cover the left bank of the Irrawaddy. One of these had taken post at Tantabain. It was the plan of Sir Archibald Campbell to assume two principal lines of advance, one up the stream of the Rangoon river, Paulang branch, and great eastern branch of the Irrawaddy, the other parallel to the prolongation of the left bank of this same branch; but at some distance from it, as far as Sarawah. At that point the two lines would become coincident. It seemed necessary as a preliminary measure to clear the Laing river. Lieutenant-Colonel Godwin was detached against Tantabain. This officer found the enemy on the 16th of February, posted two thousand strong in a position on the point of a little peninsula. Two sides of their work were extended to eleven hundred paces each. It was lined with thirty-six guns. The Lieutenant-Colonel caused the *Satellite* armed ship, towed by the steam vessel, to enfilade one face of the defences. He paralyzed the barbarians by her fire, and a shower of rockets launched from the deck of the *Diana*, by Captain Graham's troop. The Burmans were amazed at the velocity, the dazzling light, the rapid succession, the fatal aim, and ominous hissing of this new weapon. The Grenadiers of the 41st, transported by the boats to a point sheltered from fire, rushed upon the enemy in the moment of consternation. The work was carried. The barbarians left behind thirty-four out of thirty-six guns.—*Havelock*.

MAJOR SALE AT BASSEIN.

Sir Archibald Campbell had sent some troops to manœuvre on the line of the great western branch of the Irrawaddy. Major Sale's transports were conveyed by his Majesty's frigate *Larne*, and the H. C.'s cruiser *Mercury*. The passage of his fleet round the circumference of the coast was tedious. It reached Pagoda Point in great Negrais on the 24th of February. Major Wahab had arrived here in May 1824, when all might have been attempted, which was now worth attempting. The enemy had constructed some works on both the greater and the lesser island. Their defenders were put to flight by the fire of the ships of war. Whilst the expedition was making its way with little opposition between the picturesque banks of the magnificent stream, the Burmese set fire to Bassein and retreated towards Lamina. The fleet anchored off the smoking ruins on the 3rd March. Major Sale having established his troops in the area of the grand Pagoda endeavoured by assurances, and the distribution of proclamations, to restore confidence in the minds of the alarmed inhabitants.—*Ibid.*

PROME.

The fate of the campaign was decided, as it had been easy to foresee, under the walls of Donabyoo. Sir Archibald Campbell, regaining his former line of route, by recrossing the river at Sarawah, prosecuted an unopposed advance. He entered Promé on the 25th April, 1825. General Cotton's division, in rejoining him, en-

countered no obstacles but the rocks, shallows, and rapids of the Irrawaddy.

But the army had lost half a month. Prome was its place of arms during the monsoon. A reconnoissance was pushed to Mecaday fifty miles beyond it. Prome may be considered the third town in the Empire. The commercial advantages of Rangoon seem to entitle it to rank second. Prome stands on a somewhat lofty margin of the river. A timber stockade encloses three or four narrow streets of huts, the wooden houses of the local Government, those of the priesthood and numerous pagodas.

Considerable intervening spaces are partially planted with trees. From the platforms of the work the inhabitants look forth across a stream of a thousand yards at the rocky heights which guard the right bank. These are a portion of the chain of wooded hills, which extend in unbroken links from a point on the right bank forty miles below Prome to another 160 above it.

This line of 200 miles is beautiful throughout. The eye of the voyager on the Irrawaddy is perpetually feasted with the sight of hanging woods, which in this climate are never entirely deprived of their foliage. In the more abrupt bends of the river the rocks, which occasionally decorate the left bank also, seem to unite themselves amphitheatrically with those of the right.

The spectator may fancy himself on a lake in a mountainous region. This, and sudden glimpses of pagodas perched adventurously on the summits of crags, like the castles of the Rhine, are the principal features of the picturesque in Ava. The site of Prome is salubrious

as well as beautiful. The town is a healthy place of residence even in the season of rain. The air of the breezy hills around it is yet more delicious.

A line of heights lower than those of the right bank extends along the left from Shivé-doungmyo, ten miles below Prome. A few hundred yards southward of the latter, these hills run off abruptly at a right angle shaping their course into the interior. On the summits of the mounds and hillocks of this range the troops were cantoned. Roomy huts of mats, timber, and thatch, were quickly thrown up for them. The officers built themselves small bungalows of the same materials. Freed from care, from wants, and sickness, they here spent their days nearly as agreeably as in the remoter stations of the Presidencies. Another monsoon was before the army; but how far different from the last! The defeat of Bundoola at Kokaing had restored its population to Rangoon. His death,* and the dispersion of his bands at Donabyoo, relieved the plains and villages of Pegu from the second reign of terror. The British army had acted on its march in the spirit of the benevolent proclamation of its leader. It had conciliated Pegu. From Rangoon to Yandaboo the conduct of the force was exemplary. Even the followers of the camp, by far the most intractable portion of an armament in India, were never guilty of serious indiscipline. This opinion does not rest solely on British testimony. He who should dispute its correctness, would find many thousands of Peguers to contradict him. The presence

* April 1, 1852. Supposed to have been caused by a Congreve rocket.

of General Sir A. Campbell's divisions was not only never felt as a calamity in Pegu, but regarded as a protection against the severity of the Burmans. In April, 1826, their departure was bewailed in terms of clamorous regret, which no prudential arguments could restrain. The simple people of these provinces arrived at once at the secret of British superiority without the aid of metaphysics, or political economy. They said, "*The Ingles Rajahs* pay for everything, and do not cut off our heads." This surprised and delighted them.—*Havelock's Campaigns in Ava.*

MALOWN.

Sir A. Campbell's Despatch reporting the result of the attack on the Burmese entrenchments at Malown on the 19th January 1826, will have peculiar interest at the present moment; we* therefore annex it:—

TO GEORGE SWINTON, ESQ., Secretary to Government,
Secret and Political Department, &c. &c. &c.

SIR,—My despatch of the 31st ultimo, brought the operations of the army under my command down to that date, and expressed my sanguine expectations that it would prove the last communication which I should have to address to you, relative to the war in this country.

These hopes were unfortunately frustrated by the policy of a Court, apparently destitute of every principle of honour and good faith.

The signature of a treaty of peace by the British and

* *Madras United Service Gazette*, March 9, 1852.

Burman Commissioners, on the 3rd instant, and the pledge, on the part of the latter, that the same would be ratified by the King of Ava within fifteen days from that date, and some specific articles, as therein stated, carried into effect within the same period, has already been brought to the knowledge of the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, by the proceedings of the British Commissioners, recorded in their despatches, under date the 3rd instant. All occurrences of a purely political nature since then, will now in like manner be furnished by the same authority. I shall therefore proceed to the detail of military events resulting therefrom.

On the 18th, the day appointed for the return of the ratified treaty, &c., the Commissioners finding, that instead of a fulfilment of the King's promise, a further delay of six or seven days was solicited, under such equivocal circumstances as left no doubt that a total want of faith guided their councils, it was definitely declared that their request could not be complied with, and a secret article proposed to them in which it was stipulated (together with the performance of others already agreed to) that they should evacuate the fortified and entrenched city of Malown, by sun-rise on the morning of the 20th; on their positive rejection of this proposition, they were told, that after twelve o'clock that very night (the 18th), hostilities would recommence. Deeming it of the utmost importance that no time should be lost in punishing duplicity of so flagrant a character, I ordered the construction of batteries and the landing of heavy ordnance from the flotilla, to commence immediately after mid-

night, and every requisite arrangement to be made for an early attack upon Malown. His Lordship in Council will be enabled to appreciate the zeal and exertion with which my orders were carried into effect, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, commanding the Artillery, and Lieutenant-Colonel Underwood, the Chief Engineer (aided by that indefatigable corps, the first battalion of Madras Pioneers, under command of Captain Crowe), when I state, that by ten o'clock next morning, I had eight-and-twenty pieces of ordnance in battery on points presenting a front of more than one mile on the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy, which corresponded with the extent of the enemy's line of defence on the opposite shore. I yet cherished hopes that the formidable appearance of our preparations would have induced them to make some further communications in the morning, instead of again risking the renewal of hostilities with troops, of whose decided superiority they had so recently received the most convincing and humiliating proofs. In this I was disappointed. At daylight, I perceived that the preceding night had been devoted by them to preparations equally laborious, and the construction of extensive and well-planned works, with a view to the resistance on which they had resolved.

At eleven o'clock, A.M. (the 19th), I ordered our batteries and rockets to open their fire on the enemy's position; it was warmly kept up, and with such precision of practice, as to reflect the highest credit on this branch of the service.

During this period, the troops intended for the assault were embarking in the boats of his Majesty's ships and

the flotilla, at a point above our encampment at Patanagoh under the superintendence and direction of Captain Chads of his Majesty's ship *Alligator*, senior naval officer, on whom this charge devolved, in the absence of his Excellency, Commodore Sir James Brisbane, in consequence of extreme indisposition.

About one P.M. the desired impression having been produced by the cannonade, and every thing reported ready, I directed the Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Sale, consisting of his Majesty's 13th and 38th Regiments, to drop down the river and assault the main face of the enemy's position, near its south-eastern angle; and Brigadier-General Cotton, with the flank companies of his Majesty's 47th and 87th Regiments, and his Majesty's 89th Regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter Blair; his Majesty's 41st Regiment, and the 18th Madras Native Infantry, under LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GODWIN; and the 28th Madras Native Infantry, with the flank companies of the 43rd Madras Native Infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Parlby, to cross above Malown, and, after carrying some out-works, to attack the northern face of the principal work.

Although the whole of the boats pushed off together from the left bank, the strength of the current, and a strong breeze from the north, carried Lieutenant-Colonel Sale's Brigade to the given point of attack, before the other columns (notwithstanding every exertion) could possibly reach the opposite shore; Lieutenant-Colonel Sale was unfortunately wounded in his boat, but the corps of his Brigade having landed, and formed with

admirable regularity, under the command of Major Frith, of his Majesty's 38th Regiment, rushed on to the assault with their usual intrepidity, and were in a short time complete masters of a work, which although certainly not so well chosen in point of position as others we have met with, had yet been rendered most formidable by labour and art, and, at the same time, such as to afford the enemy a presumptive assurance of security in their possession of it. This is fully evinced by the circumstances of the Chiefs, with Memiaboo at their head (contrary to the Burmese custom in all such cases), having remained within their defences till they saw the troops crossing to assault.

When Brigadier General Cotton saw the works were carried by the 13th and 38th Regiments, he very judiciously ordered the Brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter Blair to cut in upon the enemy's line of retreat, which was done accordingly, and with much effect.

Thus was accomplished in the course of a few hours from the recommencement of hostilities, forced upon us by perfidy and duplicity, a chastisement as exemplary as it was merited. Their loss in killed and wounded has been severe, and the accompanying returns of captured ordnance, stores, arms, and ammunition, will sufficiently demonstrate how seriously they have suffered in these particulars; a species of disaster, which their Government will doubtless more deeply deplore than the sacrifice of lives or the shame of defeat. Specie, to the amount of about thirty thousand rupees, was found in Memiaboo's house, and a very ample magazine of grain, together with

about seventy horses, have also fallen into our hands. It will prove highly gratifying to his Lordship in Council to learn, that advantages so important have been secured with so small a numerical loss, as is exhibited by the returns of killed and wounded: amongst the wounded I include, with particular regret, the names of Lieutenant-Colonel Sale and Major Frith, the latter having succeeded to the command of the column on his senior officer being disabled, received at its head, in the moment of success, a spear wound, which I fear is of a serious nature. Major Thornhill, of His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, was the third on whom the accident of war brought the perilous distinction of leading these troops, and he conducted their movements to the close of the affair, in a style worthy of his predecessors in command.

Where zeal displays itself in every rank, as amongst the officers whom I have the happiness to command, and all vie with each other in the honourable discharge of duty, the task of selecting individual names for the notice of his Lordship, becomes difficult and embarrassing, and I am compelled to adopt the principle of particularizing those alone on whom the heaviest share of exertion happened to devolve on this occasion. It fell to the lot of the Artillery to occupy this conspicuous station in the events of the day; in behalf, therefore, of Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, commanding the whole, and of Lieutenant-Colonel Pollock, commanding Bengal Artillery, and Captain Lumsden, Bengal Horse Artillery, and Montgomerie, Madras Artillery, commanding the batteries, I have to solicit your recommendation to his

Lordship's favourable attention. The rocket practice, under Lieutenant Blake, of the Bengal Horse Artillery, was in every way admirable; of three hundred and four rockets which were projected during the day, five alone failed of reaching the spot for which they were destined, and uniformly told in the works, or in the ranks, of the enemy, with an effect which has clearly established their claim to be considered a most powerful and formidable weapon of war.

The conduct of His Majesty's 13th and 38th Regiments, during the advance, and their gallantry in the storm, far exceeded all that I can write in their praise. I sincerely hope that I shall not long be deprived of the services of their two brave commanders.

Brigadier-General Cotton's arrangements for intercepting the retreat of the enemy, and the movement of Lieutenant-Colonel Hunter Blair to effect the same object, merit my warmest commendations.

To Captain Chads, of the Royal Navy, and every officer and seaman of His Majesty's ships, and the Hon. Company's Flotilla, I am deeply indebted, for the able and judicious manner in which the troops were transported to points of attack so near to the formidable works which they had to assail. I have the honour to enclose Captain Chad's report together with his return of killed and wounded.

Upon this short but important service, I derived every support from the zeal and ability of my Staff, general and personal.

Lieutenant Wilson, of His Majesty's 13th Light Infantry, Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Cotton, who

will have the honour of delivering the despatch, was present during the whole affair, and is well qualified to give any further information which may be required by his Lordship on the subject.

(Signed) A. CAMPBELL, *Major-General*.

Head-quarters, Camp Patanagoh,
Jan. 20, 1826.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE CAPTURE OF BASSEIN.

TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL GODWIN, C.B., ETC., COMMANDING BURMAH FIELD-FORCE.

SIR,—The operations being concluded, I have the honour now to lay before you a report of the assault and capture of the strong stockades, erected by the enemy at Bassein, by the troops under my command, on the 19th instant.

1. The Honourable Company's steamers having anchored in succession, at about half-past 4 P.M., in front of Bassein, a signal was made for the troops to land. This was effected in a very short time, and the ground occupied was an open space running along the river in front of the stockade. The work was full of armed men, and several guns were in position. I formed the troops in line.

2. The whole force had not landed, when a fire from the enemy was opened upon us. This was a signal for the troops to advance, which was done in the most gallant style. The stockade was surmounted, the chief Pagoda gained, and the enemy were driven in every direction.

Considering the sharp fire that was opened upon us in this gallant attack, our loss in killed and wounded was small.

3. Having formed the troops in the pagoda, companies were sent out, by your orders, in different directions, to disperse the enemy.

4. A most important duty still remained to be performed. The enemy's stronghold, a fortified position to the south of the town, was still unmolested.

5. A company of H. M.'s 51st, under Captain Rice, and two of the Madras N. I., under Captain Borthwick, were selected to assault this position. I accompanied this detachment myself, in order to be an eye-witness of what I knew would be a most dashing operation. I halted the party for a few minutes on the road, as Captain Borthwick had not come up, where it was joined by a few seamen and marines, under Lieutenant Rice, R. N.; by a party of Madras Sappers, with ladders, under Lieutenant Ford; and by a sub-division of the 9th N. I., under Lieutenant Ansley. As it was getting late, I decided upon not waiting for the remainder of the 9th.

6. Taking a circuitous route, we came out in rear of the stockade, in an open space, which afforded us a distinct view of this formidable position. I here detached Lieutenant Ansley with his party to the right, to attack in reverse the north-east side.

Our further progress was impeded by water and low thick jungle, obliging us to take another direction, which brought the party out upon a brick road, leading straight up to the north-east angle of the work. Upon opening the position, and when within fifteen yards of it, a severe fire of musketry, guns, and jingals was opened upon us by the enemy. I was struck in the groin, which disabled me at once; Lieutenant Rice, R. N., whilst bravely

leading on his men, was shot through the hand; Captain Rice, H. M.'s 51st L. I., whilst gallantly leading his company up to the assault, was shot through the lower part of the neck. His place was gallantly taken by his subaltern, Lieutenant Carter, who, followed by his men, was the first on the parapet. He was struck down by a musket-ball, and rolled over the exterior slope; but still insisted upon being carried into the work. Lieutenant Ansley, of the 9th M. N. I., and Lieutenant Ford, Madras Sappers, mounted the parapet in the most gallant manner; the former receiving a wound through the right hand. The enemy now gave way in every direction, followed by the victorious troops under the command of Lieutenant Ford.

Thus, in forty minutes from the time the troops landed, the whole of the enemy's works were in your possession.

In conclusion, I beg to bring to your notice the noble conduct of the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers of all arms, who took part in the assault; and the cheerfulness and alacrity with which every individual appeared anxious to perform his duty.

I beg to inclose a list of the killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

A. C. ERRINGTON; Major
H. M.'s 51st.

Commanding H. M.'s 51st Regiment, L. I.
and Troops engaged.

On board the Hon. Company's steam frigate *Moosuffer*,
off Bassein, May 22, 1852.

RETURN OF KILLED, WOUNDED, AND MISSING, AT THE ATTACK AND CAPTURE
OF BASSEIN ON THE 19TH MAY, 1852.

Head-quarters, Rangoon, May 24, 1852.

	Killed.										Wounded.										Missing.	
	Officers.		Warrant Officers.	Sergeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters and Drummers.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syce Drivers.	Syces and Grass Cutters.	Horses.	Officers.		Sergeants and Havildars.	Trumpeters and Drummers.	Rank and File.	Lascars.	Syce Drivers.	Syces and Grass Cutters.	Horses.			
	European.	Native.									European.	Native.										
Personal Staff ...																						
General Staff.....																						
H. M.'s 51st Regt. K. O. L. I.	2	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	11	..	..	..	..	..
9th Regt. M. N. I.	1	..	..	1	6	..	..	..	..	..
Total.....	2	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	1	17	..	..	..	..	..
											Killed.	Wounded.		Missing.								
European Officers .....											..	5		} None.						
Native Officers.....											..	..								
Warrant and Non-Commissioned Officers, Rank and File, &c.											2	18										
Lascars, Syce Drivers, Syces, &c.....											..	..								
Total											2	23										
Grand Total of Killed, Wounded, and Missing, Twenty-five.																						

(Signed)

W. MAYHEW, Captain,

Assistant Adjutant General of the Burmah Field Force.

T

OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

No. Killed.	No. Wounded.	Corps or Department.	Killed.	Wounded.
	4	H. M.'s 51st Ft.	..	<div> Maj. Errington } alight. Capt. Darroch. } Capt. Rice, very severe. Lieut. Carter, severely. </div>
	1	9th Madras N. I.	..	Lieut. Ansley, severely.

(Signed) W. MAYHEW, Captain,
Assistant Adjutant General of the Force.

RETURN of Ordnance captured in the fortifications of the City of
 Bassein on the 19th of May 1852.

On the Works round the City	Guns	30
	Gingals ..	6
In the mud Fort.....	Guns	16
	Gingals ..	24
In the Stockade opposite the Town....	Guns	6
	Gingals ..	6
In a mud Fort at Naputa	Guns	2
	Total Guns.....	54
	„ Gingals.....	32
	Grand Total	86

(Signed) W. MAYHEW, Captain,
Assistant Adjutant General of the Force.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) C. ALLEN,
Officiating Secretary to the Govt. of India.

By order of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council.

H. C. MONTGOMERY, *Chief Secretary.*

NOTICES.

The following is a copy of certain notices issued by
 General Godwin :—

NOTICE.—In consideration of the expenses incurred by

Government in facilitating the navigation of Rangoon River by laying down buoys, and employing a pilot-vessel, as well as in constructing a wharf for the convenience of landing merchandize; the Lieutenant-General commanding deems it proper that a tonnage-duty of four annas per ton be levied on all vessels arriving at the port of Rangoon, from this date.

The above duties to be paid into the hands of Mr. R. J. Edwards, Acting Collector.

Vessels in the employ of Government to be exempted.

(Signed) H. GODWIN, Lieut.-Gen.

Head-quarters, Rangoon, May 22, 1852.

PUBLIC NOTICE.—As an encouragement to persons who have settled in Rangoon, and that they may obtain the means of providing themselves and their families with the necessaries of life; the Lieutenant-General commanding the forces in Burmah has granted the privilege of exportation, subject to the following restrictions :—

Rice and grain of every description, as well as provisions, are prohibited being sent out of the country.

No timber, except by permission, is allowed to be shipped.

All other produce may be exported; when the vessel is embarked, it shall have obtained the port-clearance.

Vessels arriving at Rangoon, laden with Government stores, and exempt from tonnage-duty, will be subject to it on their departure, should they take a cargo on their own account.

(Signed) H. GODWIN, Lieut.-Gen.

Head-quarters, Rangoon, May 28, 1852.

APPENDIX IX.

THE city of Pegu is on the left bank of the Pegu River, which empties itself into the Rangoon River, and in the dry season contains but little water, which accounts for the *Phlegethon* steamer being unable to get up within fifteen miles of the town. Pegu is situated about ninety miles, in an almost northerly direction from Rangoon; and its Great Pagoda of Shoemadoo Praw is capable of a stout resistance, in the hands of resolute defenders; such, however, the Burmese certainly did not prove themselves in the late affair. The Great Pagoda, according to the traditions of the Rhahauns, is 2,800 years old, and is thus described by Symes :—

“This temple is a pyramidical building, composed of brick and mortar, without excavation or aperture of any sort; octagonal at the base, and spiral at the top; each side of the base measuring 162 feet. The great breadth diminishes abruptly, in the shape of a speaking-trumpet. The extreme height of the building, above the level of the country, is 361 feet. On the top is an iron Tee, or umbrella, fifty-six feet in circumference, which is gilt; and it is the intention of the king to gild the whole building.

“On the north side of the building are three large bells, of good workmanship, suspended near the ground,

to announce to the Spirit of Gaudama the approach of a suppliant, who places his offering, consisting of boiled rice, a plate of sweetmeats, or a cocoa-nut fried in oil, on a bench near the foot of the temple. After it is offered, the devotee seems indifferent as to what becomes of it; and it is often devoured in his presence by the cows or dogs, whom he never attempts to disturb during their repast.”—*Madras U. S. G.*

THE HEALTH OF THE TROOPS.

Towards the end of June, and during July, the troops were, on the whole, healthy. The Madras Artillery, under Dr. Davidson, and the Bengal, under Dr. McCosh, were throughout admirably attended to by these excellent officers, aided by their Assistant-Surgeons, Drs. Smith and Derenzy. The *Englishman* of July 2nd writes:—

“The matter in our opinion of most importance in a force, situated as ours at Rangoon, is the health of the troops; and we are glad to find that this is satisfactory; that is to say, the sickness is greatly decreasing, the hospital-returns of the Bengal troops, on the 21st of June, the date of the despatch of our informant’s letter being, as far as he could learn, as follows:—

“ H. M.’s 18th R. I.	97
„ 18th Regiment	46
40th N. I.	103
67th N. I.	84 = 330

“Now, this is not very excessive, when we consider the exposure which the troops must necessarily have been subjected to.

“The duties, though constant, are not very severe, averaging about 22 per cent. for the Europeans, and 28 per cent. for native troops. The deaths between the middle of May and the middle of June, amongst the Bengal troops have been nearly as follows:—

	No. of Men.		Deaths.
“ H. M.’s 18th	805	..	8
” 80th (Wing)	425	..	7
40th N. I.	1,080	..	6
67th N. I.	990	..	1

“The deaths were principally from cholera; but dysentery afterwards prevailed.”

There can be no doubt whatever of the European barracks adding very considerably to the health of the soldiery. During the month of July, we believe, H. M.’s 51st Regiment lost nearly a man a day, which they might not have done, had it been possible to prepare suitable barracks for them.

The 35th M. N. I. suffered considerably in its officers; as early as the beginning of June, there being “scarcely an officer fit for duty, all being either sick or absent.” An eminent surgeon of the force declared to the author of this work, that he considered the climate of Rangoon, during June and July, superior to Bengal.

APPENDIX X.

“BUDHA, the founder of the religion of the Singhalese, Burmese, &c. The names given to Budha in the native books are as follows:—‘Supreme,’ ‘Incomparable,’ ‘Vanquisher of the Five Deadly Sins’ (killing, lying, adultery, theft, drunkenness), ‘Teacher of the Three Worlds’ (of gods, men, and devils), ‘The Sanctified,’ ‘The Omniscient,’ ‘Immaculate,’ ‘World Compassionating Divine Teacher,’ ‘Benefactor of the World,’ ‘Saviour,’ ‘Dispeller of the Darkness of Sin,’ ‘Comforter of the World,’ ‘Lord of Sanka’ (Ceylon), ‘Ruler of the World,’ ‘Ruler of Men,’ ‘Incomprehensible,’ ‘Divine Teacher,’ ‘Lord of the Divine Sages,’ ‘Deity of Felicitous Advent.’ The doctrines of the Budhists are briefly these:—They do not believe in one supreme, self-existent God. Matter, in some form or other, is eternal. The present state of things has arisen out of a former; and that from one previous to it, and so on. Every living being or thing, gods, men, devils, beasts, reptiles, vegetables, are in their present state of enjoyment or suffering from the meritorious or demeritorious actions of a former state of existence. The good or the evil done by living beings in their present birth or state of existence will be rewarded or punished in a future state. The souls, or living principle of the good, on their departure

from the present body, enter into other bodies, whose state will be superior to the present; and the souls of the bad, on their departure out of the present body, will enter into others more degraded than those they now inhabit. Every evil suffered in the present life is in consequence of some bad actions done in a former; and every good enjoyed is in consequence of some good actions in a former. But neither the good nor the evil will be eternal, for the souls continue to transmigrate till purged of every particle of evil; when they are admitted to the supreme blessedness of *annihilation*, in which state Budha is at present. *Eternal* suffering or *eternal* happiness forms no part of their belief.

“There is no superior to whom they are accountable, to inflict punishment, or to bestow good; but happiness *necessarily* follows a course of good actions, and misery a course of evil actions: hence there is no forgiveness of sins. Almsgiving seems to be omnipotent. It opens the door to all future good, and to Niwana. ‘The sound of charitable deeds is heard through the three worlds.’”—*Stocqueler’s Oriental Interpreter*.

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